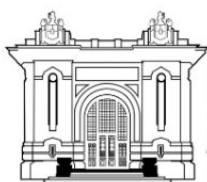


*Vernacular Psalters and the
Early Rise of Linguistic Identities
The Romanian Case*

museiKON studies 1

*Vernacular Psalters and the
Early Rise of Linguistic Identities
The Romanian Case*



**MUZEUL
NATIONAL
AL UNIRII**
ALBA IULIA



Consiliul Județean Alba
Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă a Alba Iuliei

WITH THE HELP OF:

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Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers (UMR 7302)

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Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities The Romanian Case

Proceedings of the conference edited by
Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Ileana Sasu

Exhibition and presentation texts by
Ana Dumitran and Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Exhibition catalogue by Florin Bogdan



București 2019

COVER ART AND PHOTOGRAPH: Vladimir Agrigoroaei – mouse and open book (Psalter?) in a *trompe l'oeil* cupboard painted in a niche of the St Valentine church in Termeno sulla Strada del Vino / Tramin an der Weinstraße (close to Bolzano, Italy), early 15th century (see page 8).

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'Captatio benevolentiae': A Different History of the Early Romanian Psalters

Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Center for Advanced Studies in Medieval Civilization,
Poitiers (CÉSCM, UMR 7302) - CNRS

Old Greek and Latin have shaped two different *Kulturkreise* in Europe, meeting where the Romanian lands are situated and giving Romanian culture its versatile, on-again, off-again, half-Eastern and half-Western characteristics. It is not a single culture, but a plural one, and the early Romanian Psalters illustrate it best.

As the table of contents of the present volume shows, this, too, is not a single book, but two, or more. The infrequent redundancy between the articles and the short texts has an obvious reason: the overlapping of an exhibition catalogue with the proceedings of a conference. Even though they are intended to serve different purposes, both of them touch on the same subject, thus leading to the many ways in which this book can be read: as a coffee table book – looking at pictures and reading the exhibition texts; in a discontinuous manner – reading more about a certain topic in one of the studies; or even meticulously – with a scientific approach. Another consequence of this multifaceted nature is the brevity of the articles, since they too are intended as introductory forays into a variety of topics (Psalters in various vernacular languages, cultural effects of the Reformation in the Romanian lands, or Metrical Psalters). Well before the preparation of these articles and of the exhibition, the decision to shorten the length of the scientific contributions was made in order to make them accessible to the general public.

This book therefore serves many purposes. First and foremost, it introduces the question of the Romanian Psalters to foreign researchers and draws attention to the still unclear nature of the Western inspiration for these texts. The early beginnings of Romanian culture may be considered strange. The ambivalent heritage of both East and West may account for the heterogeneous nature of the early vernacular Psalters, because the lands inhabited by the Romanians of the 15th century were at a flexible confessional crossroad. Transylvania was both a Catholic and Orthodox land at the same time. However, the effects of Catholicism on the medieval Romanian communities are still a matter of debate.

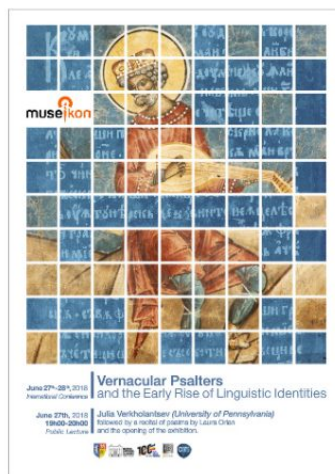


Fig. 1. Mouse and open book (Psalter?) in a 'trompe l'oeil' cupboard painted in a niche of the St Valentine church in Termeno sulla Strada del Vino / Tramin an der Weinstraße (close to Bolzano, Italy), early 15th century.
© Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Fig. 2. Poster of the Alba Iulia conference organized by the Museikon section of the National Museum of the Union. June 27th-28th 2018.
© Anca Crișan & Vladimir Agrigoroaei.



▲ Fig. 3. Poster of the Psalter exhibition organized by the Museikon section of the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia. June 27th-August 31st 2018.
© Anca Crișan & Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

They may have been similar to the cultural effects of the Reformation during the 16th and 17th centuries, when Latin or Western influences led to the writing or printing of other Psalters, in prose or verse. This is why several studies insist on the influence of the Reformation as well as on its medieval roots, on literary, religious, or even cultural continuities – because this line of research needs to be further explored.

Secondly, the present volume wishes to compare the ‘Romanian case’ with similar quandaries in the history of other languages and literatures. Due to its monolingual nature, the Romanian philological research is often centred on its own ‘national’ language, in very much the same way the Czech, Hungarian, French, or English counterparts are too. The meticulous grammatical aspects of philology render it oblivious to the comparative line of approach. However, Romanian translations of the Psalter may easily be compared to the Hungarian or Czech Psalters, and these in turn to the English or French translations of the same sacred text. After the Reformation, the Western *Kulturkreis* gained in stability and growth. Theological aspects prevailed, as the translation into vernacular languages became the profession of learned men. But there were also literary aspects which cannot be ignored, factors that may have been underlying during the medieval times.

These two different approaches have been distilled into a book of modest proportions, with a third intention in mind, that of presenting them to the general public, both Romanian and foreign. In this regard, the volume follows the logic of the 2018 Psalter exhibition in the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia. This exhibition was set up with local means. It testifies to the particular character of the Romanian collections, where very few medieval manuscripts exist compared to the great collections of Western Europe. The exhibition included only modern printed books, an incunabulum and very few manuscripts, all of them modern as well, so its storyline was of course incomplete. The exhibition texts (included in this volume) broadened the perspective and addressed topics that the exhibition could not exemplify, such as the medieval beginnings of the narrative. This was also the role played by the accompanying conference: to complement it and fill the same gap. This is, of course, more evident in the present publication, where more articles are dedicated to manuscripts and to the turn of the 16th century than to the modern era, for which the exhibition catalogue, well furnished with explanatory texts, largely compensates.

Last but not least, this book bears a fourth reading, both personal and symbolical. It seals an ongoing collaboration between colleagues who intend to join forces in a common framework and achieve greater results. Symbolically, this volume is the affirmation of what came to be called the “Tower of Bibles”, a future database for the survey, indexation and comparative analysis (scriptural, linguistic, and philological) of the earliest translations of the sacred text in the vernacular languages of Europe. It is of no surprise that its first phase will be devoted to the study of the Psalters.

None of this would have been possible without strong institutional support. This is why the editors, authors, and contributors of the present volume wish to thank the National Museum of the Union for making everything possible: for the exhibition, for the conference, and for the book. And now, without further ado, here is our modest contribution to the history of vernacular Psalters.



From all the chapters of the Old Testament, the Book of Psalms is by far the one that has enjoyed the most popularity with Christian believers. Its individual evolution parallels that of the Gospels. It was the first sung form in the Christian liturgy and the daily read for those who wanted to pray. Its age and widespread use – whence the need to understand it – gave it a fundamental role in the construction process of modern languages. Its many translations and comments also contributed to the divergence of Christian beliefs (there are even some dark magic rituals that include the reading of the Book of Psalms). After almost three thousand years since it was composed, its text still sparks emotion through poetic beauty, as well as heated debate through its theological content.

A.D.



Psaltire cu tâlcuiri
Psalter with commentaries
Slavonic manuscript,
17th-18th century

Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod,
 Bucharest

cota III 7, nr.inv. c. 76303/1969

8 p.+ 873 p.

In folio (33,5 x 20,5 cm), the text is written in black and red ink in Cyrillic script; the text features polychromatic initials and frontispieces. The edges are painted green. The volume is bound in dark red velvet over two wooden boards with two clasps, of which only the upper one survives. The conservation state of the manuscript is relatively good; some wear is visible along with wax stains, foxing and minor woodworm bore holes.





↓ ²¹АЛТНРЪ

Проро́кꙋи ѿи́ Апста́лꙋи

Д Ё Ё Ё Д Ё

ИҶОМЪ ИҶТРЕАЩАЯ ТҶПЗРІТЪ,

КѸ БЛГОСЛОВЕНІА

ПРѢ СФНЦНТЪ АЪН

Kröſ Kröſ.

П. ПАУСАНИЙСОНЪ

В А Ъ Д Ё К Ъ Њ

Ф Г Д Е Ж З И Й К Л М Н

Ἀ Ὶϥφῆτα Μᾶτρωπολίε

И БЛАЖЕННІ.

ИНИ ДѢЛА ХС.

452

Psaltire Psalter

Blaj, 1764

Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă
a Alba Iuliei

Psaltirea prorocului și împăratului David, acum a treia oară tipărită, cu blagoslovenia preasfințitului chiriu chir P. Pavel Aaron, vâdicăi Făgărașului, în sfânta Mitropolie a Blajului, anii de la Hristos 1764.

Nr. inv. cv 241

BRV, II, 339; BRV, IV, 339;
Petrik 1971, p. 63; BRVAC, 144;
Mircea 2008, p. 198; Chindriș, Iacob,
Mârza, Tatay, Urs, Crăciun, Moldo-
van, Roman-Negoi 2016, p. 212.

[1] p. + 501 p. + [3] p., page 64 is
misnumbered 65 and the subse-
quent numbering follows it.

In octavo (17 x 10 cm), black type-
face in Cyrillic script, single text
block of 19 lines per page. Printed
decorations in the guise of engrav-
ings, frontispieces, initials, printed
floral elements and vignettes.

The volume is bound in leather over
wood; only the front cover is still
preserved, and it is decorated with
a linear frame completed with floral
elements. Partial elements of the
clasps are still visible.

The overall state of conservation is
good, with some wear, woodworm
bore holes, wax stains, and foxing.
The back cover is missing and some
quires and pages are loose from the
binding.

Annotations: Flyleaf 1^r: *Această Psaltire este a bisericii Lăturenianilor din Sălcioa de Sus. Cu aceasta aduc amintire pentru furtişag să nu îndrănească cineva.* Flyleaf 1^v: *Aceasta sânta Psaltire este a s.tei biserice din Sălcioa de Susu Lăturenii. Semnatu-s-au din partea noastră în 25 maiu 1873. Ioanu Onescu mp. Preotu cap. gr. o. in Lăturenii (the note is repeated in Hungarian).* Title page: *Mai 11 zile [...] [...] zeci și doi de [...]. P. 58-70: Aceasta s[ântă] Pastire [sic!] ieste a bisericii din Lăturenii și cine o ar înstreina să fie afurisitu de rugăciuni de care sântu în cartea aceasta. P. 127: Vasilie Borac Epitrop I 1889. P. 191-204: Aceasta să să știe că această s[ântă] Psaltire iaste [...] ot Sălcioa de Sus și cine o va lua fără de voia lui să fie afurisit de tri sute și optăspră zeace de părinți sfinți de la Nichiia. P. 245: Vasilie Borac. On the last two endleaves: Aceasta Psaltire este a bisericii din Sălcioa de Sus.*





Psaltire cu Ceasloveț
Psalter and Book of Hours
Slavonic manuscript,
18th-19th century

Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod,
Bucharest

Cota II 294, nr. inv. c. 76410/1969

Chițulescu 2008, p. 168.

680 p., mechanically numbered.

In folio (25 x 18 cm), the text is written in black and red ink. The text features red initials, as well as two polychromatic frontispieces and one miniature (King David as prophet). The volume is bound in leather over wooden boards. The front cover is decorated with a florally ornamented frame and a central, floral-pattern medallion. The back cover is decorated with a double border frame, completed by floral decorations and a latticework pattern inside the frame. Both covers have metal support buttons. Both clasps are preserved. The overall conservation state is good, with some wear and foxing marks; the miniature page showing King David presents some oxidation. The codex has some minor woodworm bore holes, some frayed edges and missing pieces from the covering material.



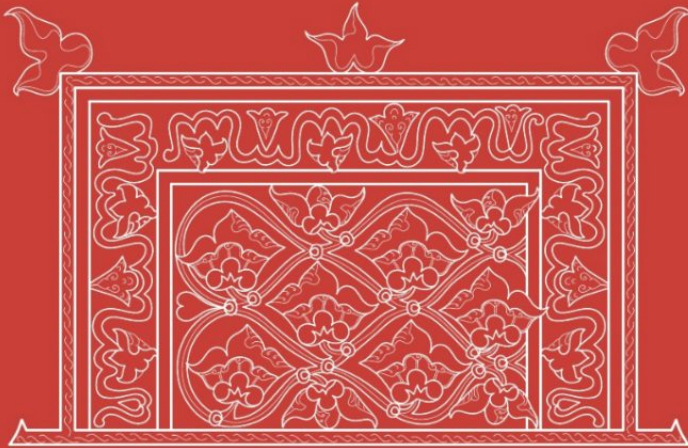


ДѢЛА ПРАВОСЛАВНЫЯ

ПСАЛМЪ НЕОПИСАЕУЕМЪ

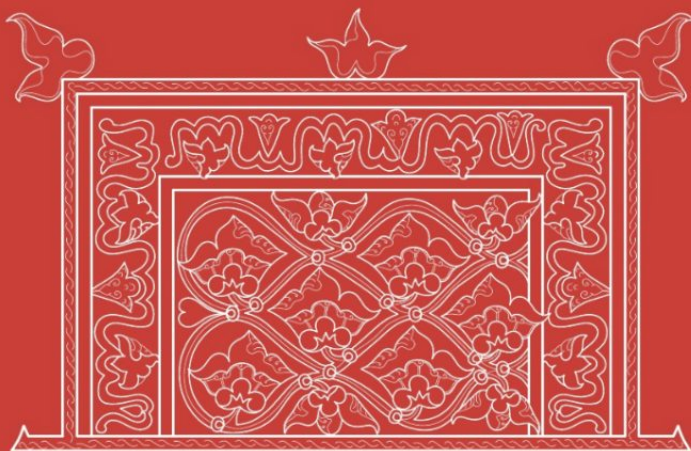
ВЪ ЛЖЕНЬ МОУЖЬ И ЖЕНЕИ
НА СЪВѢТЪ НЕЧЕСТИВЫХЪ
И НА ПОУТИ ГРѢШНЫИ НЕ СѢ
И НА СѢДАЛНИЦИ ГОУБИТЕ
ЛЪ НЕ СѢДЕ О НОВЪ ЗАКО





The Psalter is the most widely used book in the Eastern Orthodox cult: groups of psalms (kathismas) are read during various services, and they are also the source for the actual text of the liturgy. The Book of Psalms is made up of 150 psalms (the 151st is considered as being uncanonical), divided into 20 groups for easier reading. The Psalms were one of the first texts to have been translated into Romanian, be it in the Orthodox lands or for the Catholic Romanian communities, and later Reformed Romanians – which stands to explain the diversity of source languages from which the translations were derived: Old Church Slavonic, Old Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Hungarian, or German. The efforts of each translator served those of others when new translations were commissioned, whence the importance of bilingual versions of the Book in Romanian and Old Church Slavonic, that also served as school textbooks.

A.D.



The Psalter is one of the Old Testament books used in Christian liturgy that contains the 150 (or 151) psalms in the Eastern and Western traditions. Along with the actual psalms, the book may also contain other devotional texts. Traditionally, the authorship of most of the psalms is attributed to David. Since it is one of the poetic books of the Bible, its psalms were chanted, sung or recited ever since their beginning in the Hebrew tradition. In the Christian world, the Book of Psalms was first known in its Old Greek form, included in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew text that circulated in the Jewish milieu in Alexandria, Egypt, in the 2nd century BC.

V.A., A.D.

Psalmi Davidis Hebraici
David's Psalms in Hebrew

[Leida], 1615

Biblioteca Județeană Mureș
 – Biroul Colecții Speciale.
 Biblioteca Teleki,
 Târgu-Mureș

Cota BO-2771

Catalog Teleki, I, p. 74.

183 p.

In octavo (20,5 x 12 cm), black typeface in Latin and Hebrew script, single text block in a linear frame. Few ornaments are present, only one initial and an engraving (printer's mark).

The volume is bound in parchment over cardboard. There is no decoration on the outer covers, and the spine bears the manuscript text: *BIBLIA HEBRAICA III*.

Good overall state of conservation, with some wear and foxing marks.

Annotations: on the first cover, an *ex libris* card of the Reformed College of Târgu-Mureș. The first flyleaf of the bound volume bears the inscription *Liber Bibliothecae Collegii Reformatorem MVásârhe-lyensis A[nn]o MDCCLXXXIV* [1784]. *Biblioth. Steph. Nagy mpria*. The title page of the 1612 print features the name *Clemens Nagy*.

Observations: The text is - along with other parts of the Bible printed in 1611, 1612, 1614, and 1615 - part of an editorial bound volume of the Plantin house.



Υ Α Λ Τ Η Ρ Ι Ο Ν .
Τ Ο Υ Π Ρ Ο Φ Η Τ Ο Υ Κ Α Ι

Μοσχοβ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΨ ΔΑΒΙΔ. *Dalaloff*

Εἶχον ἐπὶ τέλος αὐτῷ πρεσβεύοντες ἡ Εὐφροσύνη, καὶ τὸ μικρὸν
Ἀποφάνων. Εἰς πρῶτον νεωτὶ τυπωθεὶς μήκος.

Sma Διὰ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ δαπάνης. *Fr. αὐτοῦ*

Τὸ διπλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐκλαμπροτάτης καὶ ὑψηλοτάτης Αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγεμόνος
πάσης ἐγγεγραμμένης Κυρίας Κυρίας Γαλιανῆς.

Κ Ο Ν Σ Τ Α Ν Τ Ι Ν Ο Υ .

1854
Βασαράβα Βορβόβα.

Ἀρχιερατῶντος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐγγεγραμμένης τῆς Παιδοποιίας καὶ Θεο-
πρεσβυτέρου Μητροπολίτου Κυρίας Κυρίας.

Θ Ε Ο Δ Ο Σ Γ Ο Υ .

Εἰς κοινὴν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Χερσὲς χερσὶν, καὶ τῇ ὁδοῦ ὡς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν.

Εἰς τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς εἰσοδίων τῆς Θεοτόκου μετὰ
τῇ

Σ Υ Ν Α Γ Ω Γ Ο Υ .

Εἰς Εἶτε α. ψ. Κατὰ μῆνα Γένιον.

Παρά Ἀνδρέα Γερμανάκη, τῷ ἔξ Γερμανίας.

Psalterion **Greek Psalter**

Snagov, 1700

Biblioteca Academiei
Române, Filiala Cluj-Napoca

Psaltērion tou Profētou kai Vasileōs David. Echōn epi telous autou prostetheimenon ton Exepsalmon, kai to micron Apodeipnon eis prōton veōsti tupōthen mēkos. Dia prostagēs kai dapanēs. Tou eusevestatou eklamprotatou kai hupsēlotatou Authentou kai hēgemonos pasēs Oungrovlachias Ku-riou, Kuriou Iōannou. KōNSTANTINOY Vassarava Voevonda Archierateuontos tēs autēs Oungrovlachias tou Panierotatou kai theoprovlētou Mētropolitou Kuriou Kuriou. Theodosiou. Eis koinēn tōn ekklēsiōn tou Christou chrēsīn, kai tōn orthodoxōn ōfeleian. En tēi hierai tōn eisodiōn tēs theotokou monē tou Sunagovou. En Etei 1700. Kata mēna Iounion. Para Anthimou Hieromonachou, tou ex Ivērias

Cota CRV 655.

BRV, I, 122.

Urs 2011, p. 190; Bogdan 2016, p. 38.

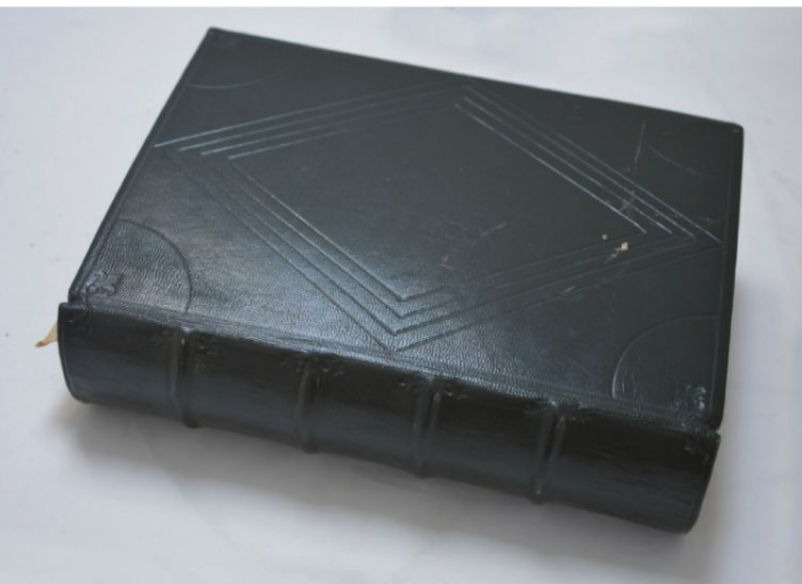
In folio (30,5 x 21 cm), black typeface in a single block of text of 34 lines per page, Greek script. The text is framed in a floral pattern, and presents decorated initials and vignettes.

The volume is bound in leather over cardboard; the front cover is decorated with a series of floral-pattern frames, floral compositions in the corners as well, and a depiction of King David in the centre. The back cover is also decorated with a floral frame, inside which there are decorative strips also made up with floral elements and line patterns. Partially gilded.

Good overall state of conservation, some wear, humidity stains and minor woodworm bore holes.

Title page: *Monast[erium] Balasfalvensis* *S[anctis] s[i] mae Triados* S. D. B. 1851. F. 1: *Această Psaltire iaste a vlădicăi [...]*. F. 79^v: *Monast[erium] Balasfalvensis* *S[anctis] s[i] mae Triados*. P.1: stamp bearing the inscription BIBLIOTECA CENTRALĂ ARHIDIECEZANĂ BLAJ, *Provine din BIBLIOTECA CENTRALĂ BLAJ*. P.[1r], [2r], p. 7, 14, 21, 40, 55, 65: stamp BIBLIOTECA CENTRALĂ BLAJ.





**Sbornic, Psaltire,
Mesetoslovenie, Ceaslov
Slavonic Psalter**

[Venice, 1546]

Biblioteca Centrală
Universitară „Lucian Blaga”,
Cluj-Napoca

Cota Rare 195

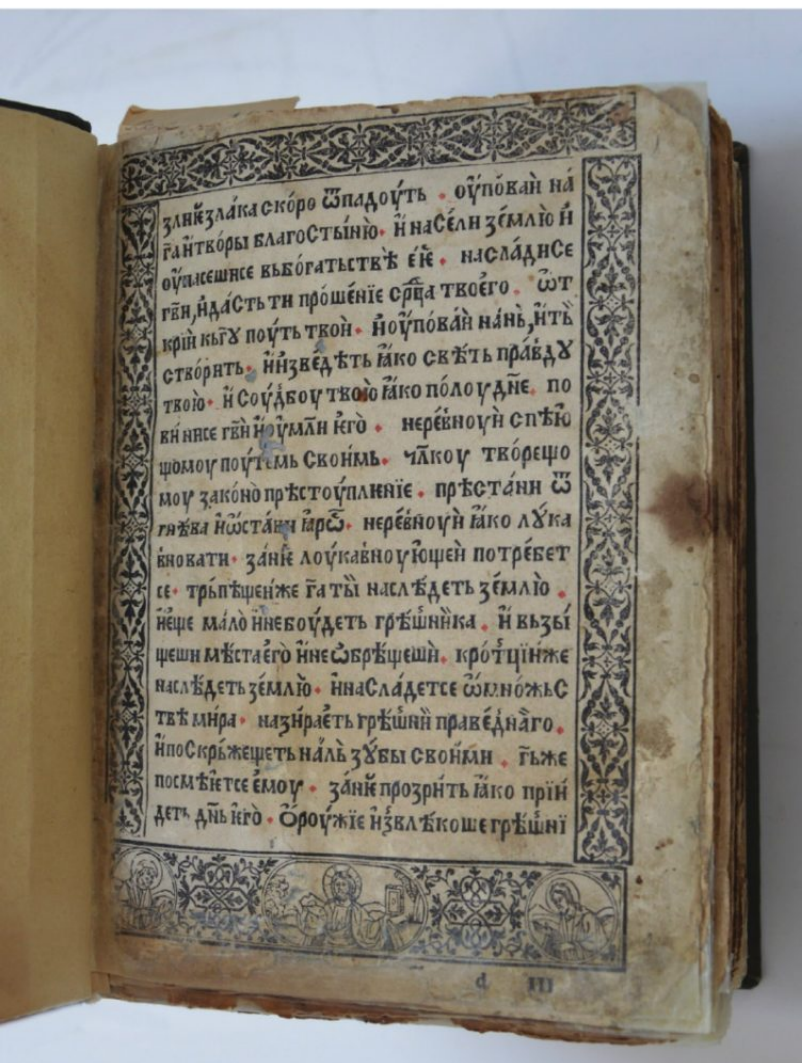
Karataev, 29.

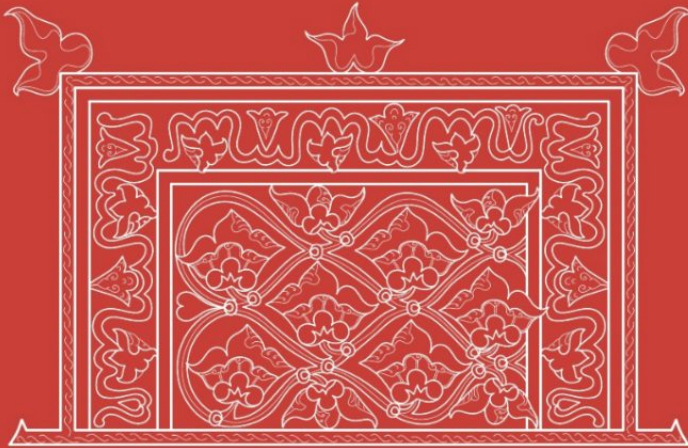
[257] p.; the text begins on page 3 from the fourth quire. Quires 1-3 are entirely missing, as well as pages 1-2 and 8 from the fourth quire; page 5 is missing from quire 5; quire 14 is missing entirely; page 1 from quire 15; pages 6-8 are missing from quire 23, pages 1 and 2 from quire 24, page 8 from quire 27; page 1 from quire 34, pages 6-8 from quire 38 are also missing.

In quarto volume, black and red typeface in a single text block of 20 lines per page, Old Church Slavonic in Cyrillic script. Ornamental features include fontispieces, vignettes, initials and decorative frames on each page, with floral patterns and biblical scenes.

The volume was rebound in the 20th century in leather over cardboard. The covers are decorated with geometrical patterns and floral elements. The overall conservation state is good, with some wear, humidity and wax stains, and paper slip additions.

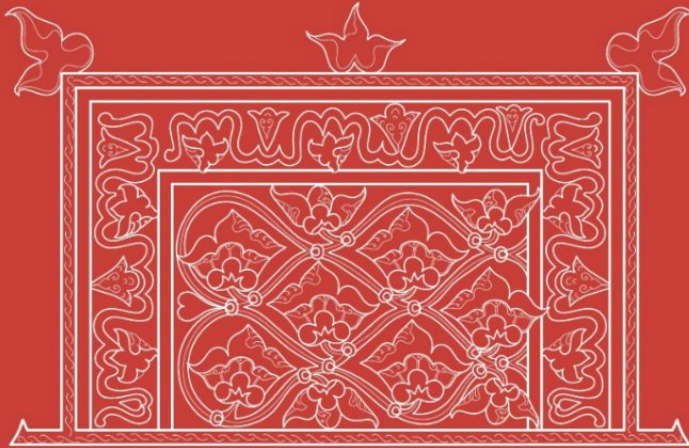
Annotation on the third page of quire 9: Ace[astă] carte [...]ărimie o au dat beserecii [...] protopop [...].





The Orthodox Church encouraged the translation of the Bible. In the Byzantine world, the cornerstone of faith must be laid through the translation of all the sacred texts. Thus, the Greek texts stood as base for the Slavonic culture, and the Psalter – by far the most popular book in terms of copies and printed versions in the Orthodox world – followed the same path. For the Romanians, the Slavonic Psalters were the most widespread. Starting with the 16th century and the arrival of many Greek-Orthodox from the Ottoman Empire in Moldavia and Wallachia, Greek Psalters began circulating. The establishment of the first Greek printing press in the monastery of Cetățuia, Iassy (1682), and the creation of the Royal Academy in Bucharest and Iassy (early 18th century, in Greek) contributed to the increase in circulation of manuscript and printed Greek books.

V.A., L.C.



*In the Western world, the Book of Psalms circulated in various Latin forms. There was at one point an old translation of the Psalms that was part of the **Vetus Latina** (the first Latin version of the Bible from the 2nd century). The Psalters that were used during the Middle Ages and Modern Times are the works of St. Jerome. The Roman version (**Romanum**) is the very first one that St. Jerome translated in 384. The Gallican (**Gallicanum**) is considered to be the second version, translated between 386-391. The third version by St. Jerome was the **Hebraicum**, translated from the Hebrew text around 392. It was the second version, the Gallican, that prevailed in liturgy.*

V.A.

**St Joseph Mary Tomasi CR,
Psalterium cum canticis
Psalter with canticles**

Vienna, 1735

Muzeul Național al Unirii
Alba Iulia

*Psalterium cum canticis versibus
prisco more distinctum argumentis
et orationibus vetustis novaque
literali explanatione brevissima
dilucidatum. Studio et Cura Ven-
erabilis Servi Dei Josephi Mariae
Thomasii Ex Congregatione Cleri-
corum Regularium Et Postmodum
S.R.E. Presbyteri Cardinalis. Editio
tertia ad usum cleri dioecesis Stri-
goniensis. Psalmodiae Et Lacrymis
Horas Vitae Frequentius Impende
S. Greg. Papa Lib. x. Registri Epist.
xiv. ad Opportunum. Viennae
Austriacae apud Pet. Conr. Monath.
Anno Domini M. DCC. XXXV [1735]*

Cota: cvs 92.

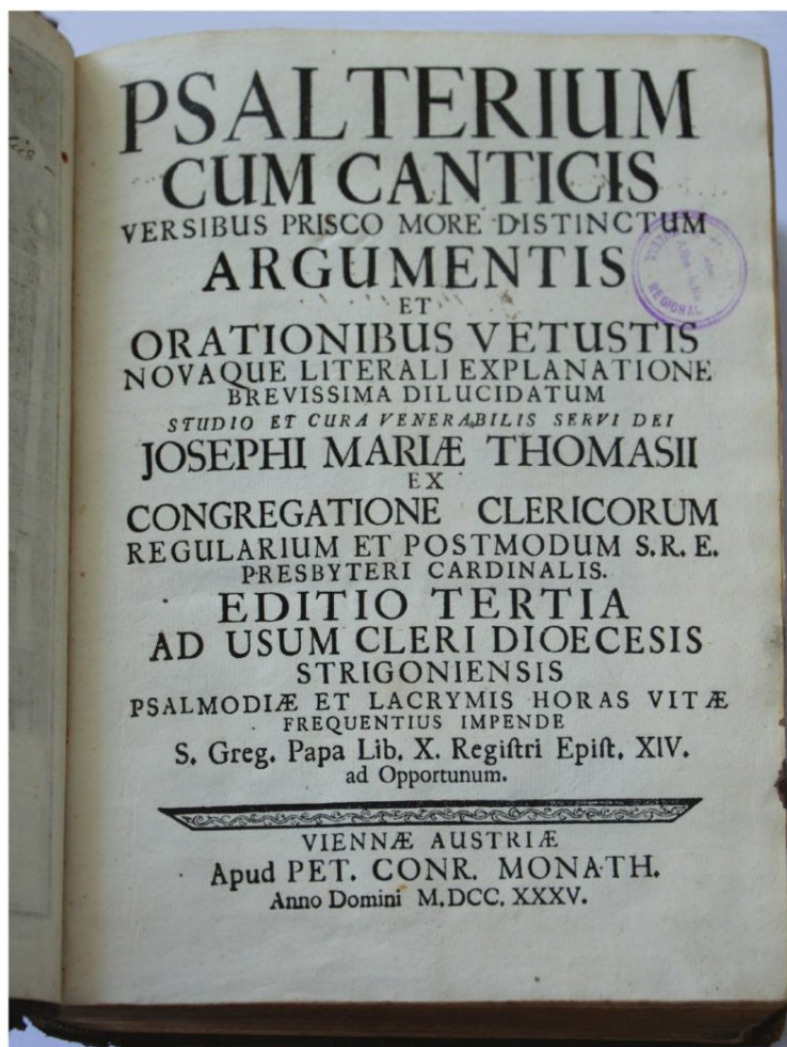
[58] f. + 688 p.

In quarto (20,5 x 15,5 cm), black
typeface and Latin script, single
text block of 39 lines per page.
Printed decorations such as
vignettes and engravings.

The volume is bound in leather
over cardboard; the covers are
decorated with a series of simple,
linear frames.

Good overall conservation state,
some wear and foxing.

Annotations: On the first cover:
A iv 5. First flyleaf [1]^v: *Liber
Seminarii Incarnatae Sapientiae
A[n]no D[omini] 1815. B. Th. N. 1.*





St Augustine

Explanatio psalorum Commentary on the Psalms

Basel, 1489 (incunabulum)

Biblioteca Academiei
Române, Filiala Cluj-Napoca

*Principalium[m] sente[n]tiarum[m] in
explanatio[n]e libri psalmo[rum]
Diui Augustini co[m]prehensa-
rum[m]: summaria ordinata[ue]
annotatio [...] Consu[m]matu[m] de
Basilee per magistrum Joannem de
Amerbach. Anno Domini. M.CCCC.
LXXXIX [1489]*

Cota Inc. 135.

Goff 1973, A-1272; Copinger 1971;
Sajó, Soltész 1970, p. 387; Schatz,
Stoica 2007, A-154.

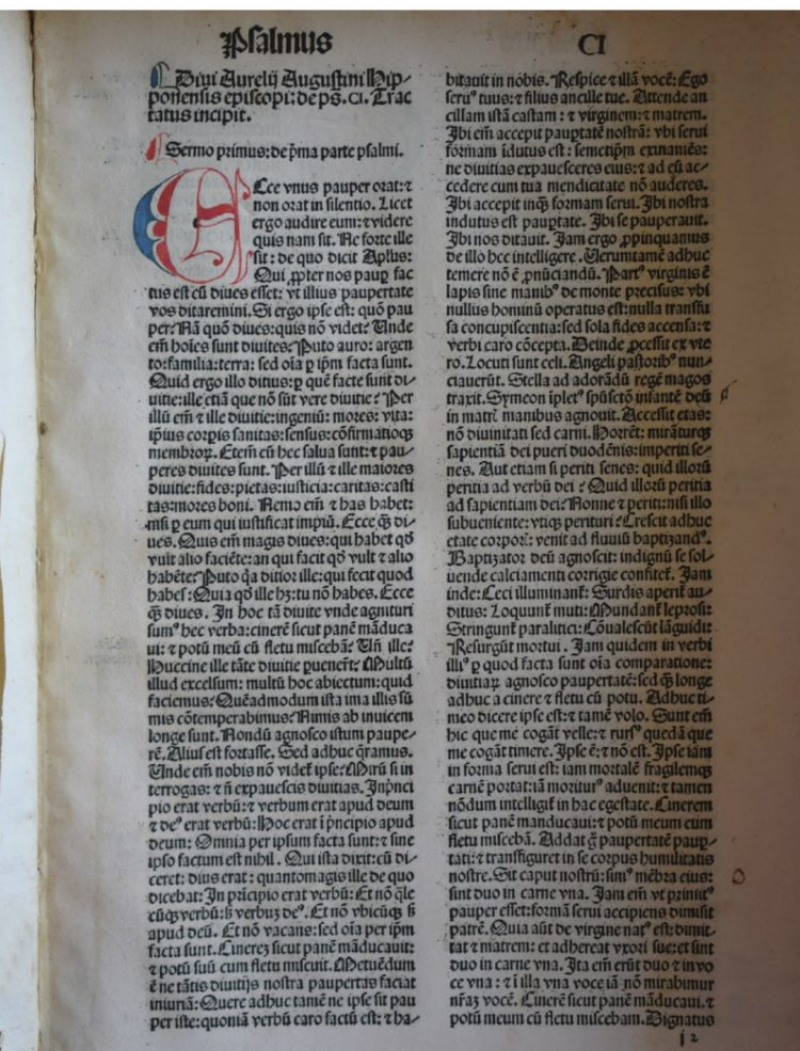
[144] p. + [194] p. + [188] p.,
quires corresponding to the a-b⁸
signatures, [2]a⁸, [2]b-t^{8/6}, v⁶, x⁸,
A-K^{8/6}, L⁸, M-P^{8/6}, Q-R⁸, S-V⁶, X⁸, Y⁶,
Z⁸, AA-DD⁶, EE⁸, 1-18^{8/6}, 19⁶, 20⁸,
21-23⁶, 24⁸, 25-27⁶, 28⁸. There are
76 pages fragmentarily preserved
at the beginning of the codex and
whose signature is impossible to
recreate; quires a⁸ [nr. 2] and b
[nr. 2]-cca g^{8/6} are missing. The
codex actually preserves all three
parts of the work.

In folio (30,6 x 22 cm), black
typeface in Latin script on two
columns of 54 lines per column.
Initials painted in red and blue.

The original binding is now lost;
some fragments of the mediaeval
documents having been used in
the original binding are preserved.

The overall state of conservation
is poor, with wear, woodworm
bore holes, rodent damage, frayed
edges and loose leaves and quires.

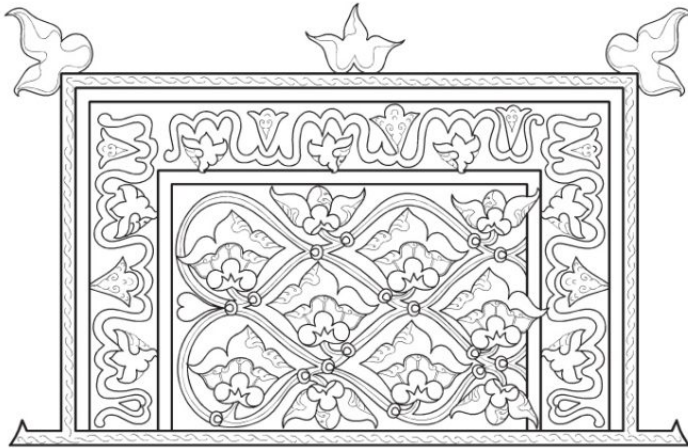
Annotations: Latin marginalia.





Translations into vernacular were scarce and were not suited for liturgy. The earliest ones were translated into Old English (10th-11th century), but the real explosion in vernacular translations took place with the French translations of the 12th century. The almost tyrannical prestige of Latin made it so that these versions played only peripheral parts, including in Modern times, when Latin was imposed as the language of the faith through the decisions taken at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Moreover, the text was not to be read without explanation. The Catholic world insisted on using commentaries through which interpretation was to be made.

V.A., A.D.



Psalm 150 in the Oxford Psalter, the first French translation of the Psalms (1130-1150, ed. Short 2015):

Loëz nostre Segnor en Ses sainz,
loëz Lui el firmament de la vertud de Lui.
Loëz Lui en ses vertuz,
loëz Lui sulunc la multitude de la Sue grandece.
Loëz Lui en suen de buisine,
loëz Lui en saltier e harpe.
Loëz Lui en tympane e choro,
loëz Lui en cordes e organo.
Loëz Lui en cymbles bien sonanz,
loëz Lui en cymbles de ledece.
Chescuns espiriz loëd nostre Segnor.

The First Psalters in Old French and their 12th Century Context

Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Center for Advanced Studies in Medieval Civilization,
Poitiers (CÉSCM, UMR 7302) - CNRS

There are two ways in which one may write the introduction to the history of medieval French literature. The first one – more common – starts with the *Song of Roland*. The second one – just as acceptable – starts with the *St Albans Psalter* (nowadays preserved in Hildesheim, Cathedral Library of Saint Mary, without a designated number). It was there, in this Psalter, that one of the most seminal texts of the Middle Ages was written – the *Song of St Alexis* –, but it was also from this Latin Psalter that the first translations of the sacred texts into French were ever made.

The *Oxford Psalter*, the very first French medieval translation of the Psalter and the most extensively copied,¹ is arguably one of the best word-by-word translations of the Psalms and Old Testament Canticles ever made, and it stems from that particular text. The autograph of this translation² is preserved in the Douce 320 manuscript of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Completely different from the mise-en-page of the other French Psalters of the time, its avatars, the *Oxford Psalter*'s layout presents us with a monolingual codex. It dates back to the first half of the 12th century and it was written in England, in the Anglo-Norman dialect of the time. Nothing is known about the original context in which it was produced. The only thing known for certain is that the *Oxford Psalter* was part of the library of the Benedictine abbey of Montebourg, in Normandy, at the beginning of the 14th century, where it was bound with a copy of a French translation of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* – dating back to the beginning of the 13th century – in what is nowadays known as the composite manuscript Douce 320. This is why it was also called the *Montebourg Psalter* for quite some time. Its new name, the *Oxford Psalter*, refers only to the place where it is nowadays preserved.

Unlike the first manuscript of the *Song of Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 23 – a pocketbook for a troubadour), the Douce 320 manuscript is a normal size codex, of 29 x 20 cm. Its text is written in a single block of text, on an average of forty lines per page, with little space left for the margins. The red and green initials and lettrines were used in an



▲ Fig. 1. *Oxford Psalter*, f. 43r.
End of Ps 32:7-22, Ps. 33 and beginning
of Ps 34:1-2.

Drawing after a photo of the author.

Notes

¹ For the 12th and 13th century manuscripts presenting the *Oxford Psalter* version, see Dean, MacCann Boulton 1999, no. 445, 239-240.

² For this notion, see Short, Careri, Ruby 2010.

vicitudine de la tue
la tue crieme. **S**ire
guardement la mei
chre aouranz e. li g
icels d's. **D**echeden
bute icels kar il ent
en parmanabletet
chi aiment le tuen
de la tue bone

Sire ne me a
dame sire qua

alternate manner. It contains the translation of the 150 Psalms of a mixed version of the *Gallicanum*, followed by the canticles of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Anna, Moses, Habakkuk, Moses again, and the children of Israel. It was written in prose, contrary to the general Anglo-Norman preference for verse translations, and its text was edited twice: first in the middle of the 19th century, and recently, in 2015.³

It has been often implied that the *Oxford Psalter* could be a copy of a bilingual codex, but newer hypotheses have recently showed that the *Oxford Psalter* is an original, that certain translation choices link it to the peculiar Latin version preserved in the *St Albans Psalter*, and that its scribe may have been one of the copyists working on the latter manuscript. But what is truly interesting is that the *Oxford Psalter* was copied in a countless number of manuscripts.

Most of these manuscripts are double-columned. It is the case of the *Winchester Psalter*, also known as the *Psalter of Henry of Blois*, a manuscript dating back to ca. 1160 (London, British Library, Cotton Nero c iv). It contains the *Oxford Psalter* French translation of the Psalms and the Latin text of the *Gallicanum*, copied on separate parallel columns, folio by folio. This manuscript also has a calendar and a famous Christological image cycle with legends in French. The picture cycle is inserted between the calendar and the French-Latin text of the Psalms.⁴ It was probably painted at the Saint Swithun priory, close to Winchester, and it was intended for Henry of Blois, the bishop of Winchester (1096–1171, bishop 1126–1171), whence its second name. The fact that such a richly illustrated Psalter contains a French version of the Psalms testifies perhaps to the usefulness of translation. It must have been copied at the request of the bishop, although the bishop knew Latin very well and did not really need a translation. The French text had both a pedagogical and an esthetical value.

These double psalters, also referred to as ‘parallel’ or ‘bilingual’ Psalters,⁵ contain the two main texts (Latin and French) written on two separate columns: the Latin text often occupies the more prestigious place, on the left, and the French text occupies the right column, but this is not always so. Changes may take place according to a logic that nowadays eludes us. All the double Psalters are avatars of the translation transcribed in the *Oxford Douce* manuscript and one of the best examples is the manuscript from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France n. acq. lat. 1670. It is not necessarily the most ancient of them all, for it dates back only to the end of the 12th century, but its layout is somehow ‘classical’. We may find the same layout in many other manuscripts, with minor changes. The symmetry of the two columns structures the manuscript in a perfect manner: each Latin verse is followed, in the right column, by a French verse which occupies the same number of lines. Identical ornate initial letters introduce the various segments of the two text; they were written by the same copyist. It has been said that the “text editing comes before the text itself.”⁶

Text editing became a general rule for the double Psalters. However, another manuscript, dating from the last quarter of the 12th century, introduced a slightly compositional variation. It is a Paris codex preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (lat. 768), once called the *Corbie Psalter*, although it probably originated in Canterbury. When reading it, one is again face to face with a version derived from that of the *Oxford Psalter*. The French was erased on the first pages of the psalms, until Ps 68 (f. 10^r–58^v), and it occupies the second place, on the right column. Some-

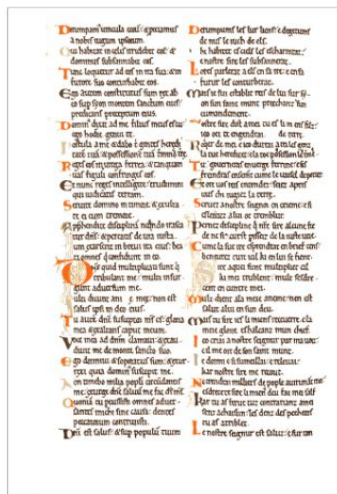


Fig. 2. *Oxford Psalter* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 320), f. 37^r. Detail. The high number of erasures and emendations in this manuscript, some of whom are visible in the photo, is proof of its autograph nature.

Photo of the author, courtesy of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford.

Fig. 3. *Psalter of Henry of Blois*, f. 46^r. End of Ps 2:3–13 and beginning of Ps 3:2–9. Drawing after the online facsimile available at bl.uk.

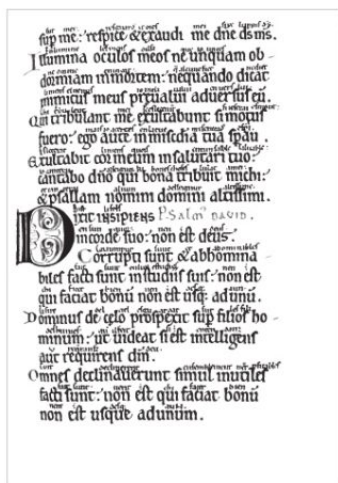
Notes

³ Short 2015. For the very first edition of this text, see Michel 1876.

⁴ For this image cycle, see Witzling 1984.

⁵ Ruby 2010, who speaks of “bilingual parallel Psalters” (p. 173); and Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, who consider them as “parallel Psalters”.

⁶ « La mise en texte [...] semble primer sur le texte ». Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 200 (for the quotation).



▲ Fig. 4. *Arundel Psalter*, f. 16r. End of Ps 12:4-6 and beginning of Ps 13:1-3. Drawing after a microfilm facsimile.

Notes

7 “Un souci d’équilibre entre les deux colonnes”; Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 170 (for the quotation and for the description). Cf. Ruby 2010, p. 174, 176; Avril, Stirnemann 1987, no. 75; Brayer, Bouly de Lesdain 1968, p. 74.

8 For the French version, see Skårup 1977, p. 90-94. For the modern Icelandic translation of the Psalms, see Kirby 1986, p. 127 et seqq. Cf. Ruby 2010, p. 178; Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 40.

9 For the two fragments, see Kerr 1954. Cf. Ruby 2010, p. 178, 180; Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 67, who also edit the French fragments.

10 Talbot 1952, p. 272.

11 Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 108.

12 Ch. Ruby 2010, p. 180 (for the quotation).

13 For an edition of this fragmentary text, see Samaran 1929.

14 Cf. Beyer 1887; Beyer 1888. A. Beyer also edited the Latin text.

15 Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 68. Cf. Short, Careri, Ruby 2010, p. 39.

16 For a different opinion, see Rector 2009, p. 201, who considers it an independent version, without providing further arguments. For the study of the language of the manuscript, see Pignatelli 2015.

times there is a balance problem between the two columns.⁷ The copyist therefore had problems with the disparities created by the different sizes (and number of words) in the two texts.

The same layout, with the French text on the second column, opposite the Latin text, is to be found in the *Copenhagen Psalter* (Universitetsbiblioteket Arnamagnasanske Samling 618 40). It dates back to the last third of the 12th century and it was written somewhere in England. The French text, transcribed by the same copyist who copied the first column, that of the Latin *Gallicanum*, is irretrievably lost. It was erased so that the second column encloses an Icelandic translation of the Psalms, dated 1586.⁸ Another Psalter is preserved in a fragmentary manner, in the parchment leaves included in the binding of a book of 1593: Oxford, Saint John’s College, MS B.4 / 4.a.4.21 (I.subt.1.47).⁹ There is the Additional 35283 manuscript in the British Library. It dates back to the last quarter of the 12th century, or – more likely – from the first part of the next century.¹⁰ And there are many more manuscripts like these. But there is also proof of a certain evolution in this long line of Latin-French double Psalters.

The three folios of a bilingual Psalter, preserved today at Maidstone, in the Kent County Archives, in the file Fa Z 1, contain only the verses Ps 55: 7-Ps 59: 10, and Ps 68: 15-70, but these fragments are enough to identify the French text with an avatar of the *Oxford Psalter*.¹¹ With regard to their layout, it gives the impression of being similar to that of the double Psalters. The text has been transcribed on two columns, except that it no longer presents two autonomous texts. Latin and French verses alternate within each column. There is only one text, of a composite nature, and the hierarchy of languages dictates only that the *Gallicanum* should be copied first. This witness marks the passage to another group or category of bilingual (and even trilingual) Psalters, where the French language occupies the place reserved for glosses. This transformation would seem natural after the strict symmetry of the two-column Psalters. It is “of the greatest convenience in reading, in order to establish the linguistic correspondences.”¹²

This other tradition starts with the *Orne Psalter* (Paris, Archives nationales, AB XIX 1734, Orne dossier), a mid-12th century manuscript fragment preserving an intercalary translation.¹³ This bifolio leaf was also part of a book binding. It contains two fragments of an interlinear translation of Ps 77:40-62 and Ps 87:10-Ps 87:14, similar in aspect to a Medieval Latin gloss. This layout dictated that the translation choices be very close to the structure Latin text, so much so that it is difficult to say whether it is a different translation or a very free adaptation of the Orne version.

The *Arundel Psalter*, sometimes called the *London Psalter* (British Library, Arundel 230), is the second best example in the category of interlinear translations of Psalms.¹⁴ It dates back to the end of the 12th century.¹⁵ Nonetheless, it has nothing in common with the *Orne Psalter*, except for the use of an intermediate gloss. The *Arundel Psalter* better integrates the series of double Psalters. In most cases, its interlinear gloss is servile to the *Oxford Psalter*’s translation choices. That is why it used to be considered a redaction of the latter,¹⁶ but the question is much too complicated and it may well also be that the Arundel translator had to make the same translation choices because of his idiolect or sociolect.

The usage of these French Psalters is debated, and it should perhaps still remain mysterious. No one can really argue that they have been used in liturgy, for it was forbidden to hold mass in another language than Latin.

Several other interpretations have been proposed, most of them speaking of the private reading of these manuscripts, but these hypotheses are conjectural and resemble other hypotheses proposed for the early Psalters in Czech, Hungarian, English, or even in Romanian for that matter. The private use of these Psalm translations can be ascertained only for a third category of manuscripts: the Psalm commentaries in French, among which many are accompanied by a French interlinear translation of the Latin text. I do not intend to present here the three versions (nor the five or six rewritings) of these commentaries on the Psalms. On the merits of the case, however, some general notes are essential to be made.

Only the first *Commentary to the Psalms*, continental in its origin (and not British), will be mentioned here, because some of its copies are the only ones preserving an interlinear translation of the *Gallicanum*. This first French *Commentary*, written for Laurette of Alsace in the second half of the 12th century, was copied with the *Gallicanum* in three of its manuscript witnesses.¹⁷ The Latin text, transcribed in large letters, is accompanied by a French interlinear translation which doesn't seem to be clearly related to the *Oxford Psalter* version, to the *Arundel*, to the *Orne*, nor to the *Eadwine Psalter* (which will be immediately discussed). The most important manuscript of this *Commentary*, preserved in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, codex 338), has the Latin text copied on the interior side of the folio, on a tight column, with a small vernacular gloss following it word by word. The bulk of the French commentary – itself translated from an avatar of the *Media Glossatura* – is arranged in a much wider lateral margin and continues on the following lines, covering the whole width of the page. The Latin text is therefore interrupted by the French commentary, the *Gallicanum* verses are isolated from each other, they do not form an autonomous text, but it is just as obvious that this layout follows in fact the *cum textu* disposition of the Medieval Latin commentaries.

A slightly different, word-by-word, translation was copied in another manuscript of the same *Commentary*, nowadays in Hereford (Cathedral Library, O III 15). It dates back to the end of the 12th century, the Latin *Gallicanum* is written on the entire width of the folio, as in the *Orne Psalter*, but the disposition of the interlinear gloss and the commentary copied after it remains more or less the same. It is thought that this codex, clearly produced in England, must have adapted its continental model – such as one may see in the Morgan 338 manuscript – to a slightly different insular practice where intercalary glosses had reached a certain stability. Finally, a book in Durham (Cathedral Library, A II 11), the first of a series of three codices containing a complete copy of the *Commentary*, lacks this interlinear translation. The editor of the first version of the *Commentary* (Ps 1-50), argued that other similar aspects to those of the *Oxford Psalter* may be found in the Morgan manuscript, at least in the parts written by a certain scribe, whom he names “h3”. It is therefore possible to imagine that a local interlinear translation, made in England, might have influenced the one transcribed in the continental *Commentary on the Psalms*, that the interlinear gloss in Morgan 338 may simply perpetuate a local fashion. Nevertheless, the same editor argued that the links with the *Oxford Psalter* cannot be proven, and that the translation copied in the three manuscripts of the first *French Commentary to the Psalms* must have been independent, done directly on the basis of the Latin text copied in these manuscripts.¹⁸

Another separate interlinear French translation is found in the *Eadwine*

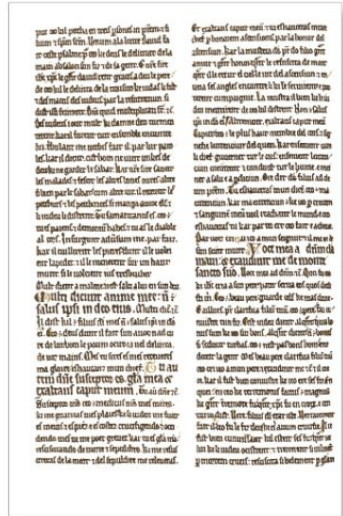


Fig. 5. Durham manuscript A II 11 of the *Psalm Commentary for Laurette of Alsace*, f. 7^r (without interlinear translation). From the end of Ps 3:2 to the beginning of Ps 3:5. Drawing after the online facsimile available at <https://iiif.durham.ac.uk>.

Notes

¹⁷ For an edition of the first version of this text (Ps 1-50), see Gregory 1990.

¹⁸ For all these date, and for other notions mentioned below, see Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 6-10. For the presentation of the manuscripts, see also Careri, Ruby, Short 2011 (who do not deal with the manuscript from Durham).

Psalter, the most famous codex of our corpus, but this other *Psalter* contains a translation that has nothing to do with all the previous translations. The *Eadwine* represents a completely different tradition. This other translation is preserved in two manuscripts only. The first is one is now preserved in Cambridge (Trinity College R.17.1) and was written in ca. 1155–1160 at the priory of Christ Church, in other words in the cultural context of Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁹ The main scribe's portrait (*Eadwinus*) at the end of the codex gave its modern name. The second codex, a copy of the first,²⁰ is nowadays preserved in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 8846), but is of a later date and it contains only the translation of Ps 1–97. Both of these manuscripts are rich in miniatures and they belong to the tradition of the *Utrecht Psalter*, a Carolingian manuscript, from an iconographic point of view.²¹

The *Eadwine Psalter* contains the complete text of the French interlinear translation.²² Its layout is simply stunning. The manuscript contains, on three columns, the three Latin versions of the *Psalter*. The *Gallicanum* gets the lion's share: its column occupies about half of the written space on the folios. The other two versions (*Romanum* and *Hebraicum*), transcribed on smaller columns, occupy the rest of the space. One should also pay attention to the miniatures in this manuscript, covering the entire width of the folios, and located at the beginning of each psalm. And that is not all; the manuscript has a critical apparatus. The copyists have transcribed a modified version of the *Parva Glossatura*, with additions, on

Notes

¹⁹ Gibson 1992b, p. 209–210. Cf. De Poerck, Van Deyck 1970, p. 27, who date it back to 1120.

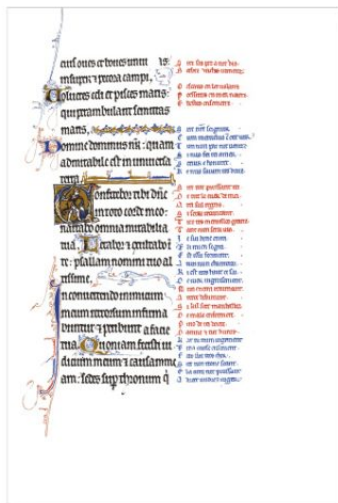
²⁰ Stirnemann 1992. Cf. Avril, Stirnemann 1987, no. 76 ; Dodwell 1990.

²¹ The *Utrecht Psalter* arrived in Canterbury in ca. 1000.

²² For an edition of this text, see the PhD thesis of Markey 1989, who also edited the Latin text of the *Hebraicum* version from this manuscript. For the very first edition of this text, see Michel 1876.

◀ Fig. 6-7. Entire folio and detail of the French and English gloss of the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College R.17.1), f. 36^r. Ps 21:2–4.
© Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.





▲ Fig. 8. *Oscott Psalter* (Additional 50000 ms of the British Library), f. 25. End of Ps 8:8-10 and beginning of Ps 9:2-5. Drawing after the online facsimile available at bl.uk.

▲ Fig. 9. *Harley 4070 ms* of the British Library, f. 28^v-29^r. End of Ps 8:8-10 and beginning of Ps 9:2-5. Drawing after the online facsimile available at bl.uk.

the margins of the *Gallicanum*.²³ Finally, two vernacular translations gloss over each Latin word, in between the lines of the non-liturgical versions. The interline of the *Romanum* version has Old English glosses. The one of the *Hebraicum* has an Anglo-Norman translation copied in small letters above the Latin words. This French translation is a fairly faithful translation of the Latin text and does not have any clear link with the *Oxford Psalter* either, simply because it was grafted on another Hieronymian text, the *Hebraicum*.²⁴

This other group of Psalters is even more puzzling from the point of view of their use. Nobody can really tell what these manuscripts were really used for. The only clue that may point towards their probable usage is the lavish nature of their images and the encyclopaedically structured layout. If they were used, they were supposed to impress their readers with their beauty as well as with their multi-layered contexts. Perhaps the same may be said about the last category of this short presentation: the verse translations of the Psalms.

Of course a verse translation had no practical purpose. Long before the Reformation, these verse translations could not be sung during the church service. But still, such French Psalters did indeed exist.²⁵ One of them, the very first one in verse, was copied in two manuscripts and it was written in stanzas of six verses, rhymed AAB CCB. This translation dates from the end of the 12th century or from the beginning of the next and each Latin verse of the Psalter is paraphrased in three up to six verses in French. The long poem is still unedited²⁶ and it was copied in two 13th century manuscripts preserved nowadays in the British Library.

The Additional 50000 manuscript (*Oscott Psalter*, richly illuminated) gives the impression of the most important manuscript because of its size and layout. However, the other manuscript (*Harley 4070*) appears to be much closer from a textual point of view to the lost autograph source. Its text favours the French version, carefully copied as the principal text, with Latin lemmas on the margins for references, most of them abbreviated; while the version copied in the Additional manuscript sacrifices sometimes entire verses of the French text, because the vernacular text

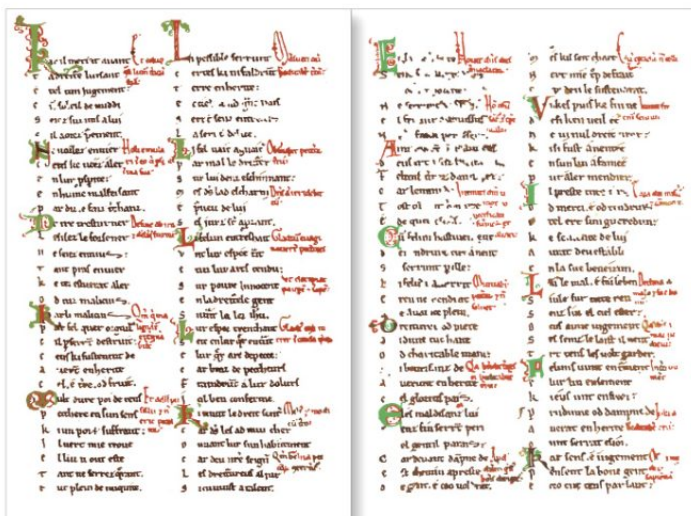
Notes

²³ Gibson 1992a, p. 108-110.

²⁴ Margarete Förster considers that the various similar translation choices between the Oxford and Eadwine Psalter translations may be explained by the derivation of the latter from the first (a hypothesis that does not hold), but also because certain biblical words could have already been present in Old French (an idea that deserves to be highlighted). Cf. Förster 1914.

²⁵ Agrigoroaei 2017.

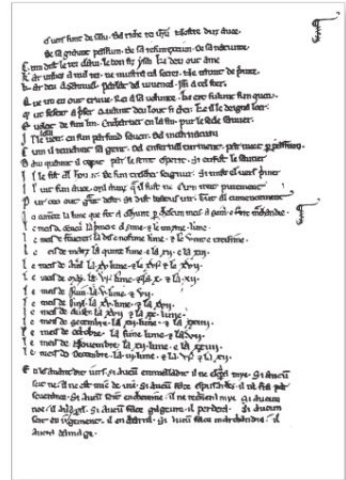
²⁶ Three passages (two stanzas of the prologue, the translation of Ps 41, and two stanzas of the Ps 44) have been published by Bonnard 1884, p. 130-132. The poem has been briefly analysed by Goedicke 1910, who quoted other short passages; and Meyer 1866 edited the prologue from the Arundel 230 manuscript version.



was supposed to accompany the Latin text on its margins, in red and blue ink, meaning that the French text had to adapt to the Latin one.²⁷ The Harley manuscript also contains a short prologue of seven stanzas which was copied as an introduction to the *Arundel Psalter* prose translation at a later date. On the contrary, the Additional seems to be a normal Latin psalter (with a calendar, with an image cycle, with canticles) on whose margins the French poem plays a marginal if not ornamental role.²⁸

Nevertheless, even in the early verse translations, at a time when the notion of 'translation' was not at all definite, when it meant what best suited its author, from adaptation and paraphrase to literary translation or to a word by word translation, these verse translations were not very different from the prose translations like the Oxford Psalter. It may have been that the authors were sharing a common language, maybe even a common sociolect, and that most of them had to appeal to the same words in their translations. This happened because the French language was not ready, from a cultural linguistic point of view, to adapt and interpret such complicated grammatical and lexical structures such as those from Latin. And it was not ready even after two more centuries, because the translator of the *Lorraine Psalter*, also known as the *Metz Psalter* (1370) confessed these problems in the prologue of his work:²⁹

Quar pour tant que laingue romance et especiaulment de Lorene est imperfaite, et plus asseiz que nulle aultre entre les langaiges perfaiz, il n'est nulz, tant soit boin clerc ne bien parlans romans, qui lou latin puisse translateir n romans quant a plusour mos dou latin; mais couvient que, per corruption et per diseite des mos françois, que en disse lou romans selonc lou latin, si com : iniquitas 'iniquiteit', redemptio 'redemption', misericordia 'misericorde'; et ainsi de mains et plusours aultres telz mos, que il couvient ainsi dire en romans comme on dit en latin. Aucune fois li latins ait plusours mos que en romans nous ne poions exprimeir ne dire proprement, tant est imperfaite nostre laingue, si com on dit on latin : erue, eripe, libera me, pour les quelz .iii. mos en latin nous disons un soul mot en romans : 'delivre moi'; et ainsi de maint et plusours aultres telz mos, des quelz je me coise quant a present pour cause de briesteit. Aucune fois li latin warde ses rigles de gramairre et ses congruiteiz et ordenances en figures, en qualitez, en comparison, en persones, en nombres, en temps, en declinaisons, en causes, en muf, et en perfection : que en romans ne en françoiz on ne puet proprement wardeit, pour les varieteiz et diversiteiz des lainguaiges et lou deffault d'entendement de maint et plusour, qui plus souvent forment lour mos et lour parler a lour volenteit et a lour guise que a veriteit et au commun entendement. Et pour ceu que nulz ne tient en son parler ne rigle certenne, mesure ne raison, est laingue romance si corrupue qu'a poutine li uns entent l'aultre, et a poutine puet on trouver a jour d'ieu persone qui saiche escrire, anteir ne prononcleir en une meismes semblant meniere; mais escript, ante et prononce il uns en une guise et li aultre en une aultre.



▲ Fig. 10. *Arundel Psalter*, f. 6r. The verse prologue added at a later date.

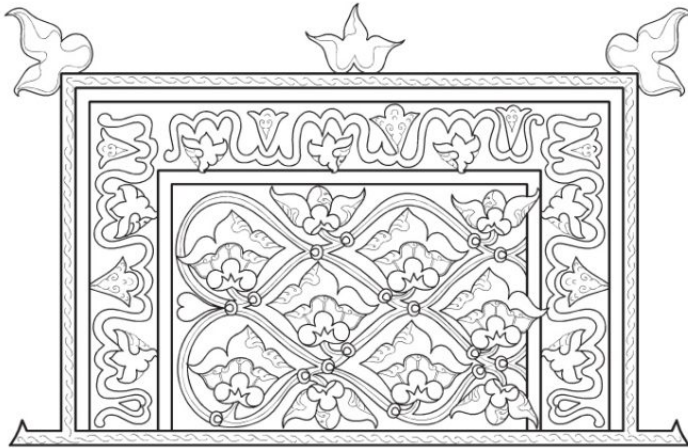
Drawing after a microfilm facsimile.

Notes

²⁷ See for this De Fonblanque 1994, who deals with this subject from the point of view of an art historian.

²⁸ The manuscript was mainly studied by art historians. See for this Neiswander 1979, who studied the image cycle; but also Morgan 1988, p. 139; Brown, Meredith-Owens, Turner 1961; and Turner 1969. From the point of view of the style and execution of the paintings, the *Oscott Psalter* has been compared to the *Salvin Horae* (ms Additional 48985 of the British Library). See e. g. Brown 1957.

²⁹ Bonnardot 1884, p. 1-2.



Psalm 150 in the Lollard Bible, a translation made under the direction of Wycliffe (1382-1395):

Herie ye the Lord in Hise seyntis;
herie ye Hym in the firmament of His vertu.
Herie ye Hym in Hise vertues;
herie ye Hym bi the multitude of His greetnesse.
Herie ye Hym in the soun of trumpe;
herie ye Hym in a sautre and harpe.
Herie ye Hym in a tympane and queer;
herie ye Hym in strengis and orgun.
Herie ye Hym in cymbalis sownynge wel,
herie ye Hym in cymbalis of iubilacioun;
ech spirit, herie the Lord.

Perfect Psalms for Perfect Men: The Use of Lollard Biblical Translations in Middle English Vernacular Preaching

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The process of translating the Bible into vernacular English is traditionally considered to have been gradual and fragmentary. Standard accounts focus on the *Tyndale Bible* (16th century) and summarize the medieval tradition as a kind of prelude to this work. Some famous or legendary translations and translators before Tyndale may be acknowledged: *Caedmon's* biblical poems (late 7th century), *Aldhelm's* translation of the Psalms (c.700), or *Bede's* lost translation of the Gospel of John (sometimes before his death in 735). Another favourite is *Alfred the Great*, who oversaw the translation of the Psalms and Exodus, and the translation of the Gospels known as the *Wessex Gospels* (c.990). Mention might also be made of the *Old English Hexateuch* (11th century) and the late translation copied in the *Eadwine Psalter*, alongside the French one.¹ However, scholars rarely connect this Old English translation and the roots of modern works, which are essentially presented as stemming from *Wycliffe* and the Lollards.²

A favourite argument in all introductory presentations of biblical translations into vernacular English is the religious turmoil resulting from Pope Innocent III's ban on all unauthorised versions – and subsequently translations – of the Bible in 1199. His motives are usually traced to his need to counter Cathar and Waldensian heresies, and therefore (the story goes) it was just a matter of time until heterodox ideas began spreading across Europe once more. The *Wycliffite Bible*, predecessor of the *Tyndale Bible*, is frequently cited as the most famous translation of the Bible into vernacular English. It is usually characterised as having been inspired by *John Wycliffe's* principle of teaching and preaching the word of God simply, in the image of the Apostles.³

Even though many of these ideas are incorrect or misleading (the Pope's letter of 1199 – to name but one example – does not explicitly forbid the translation of the sacred text, but its use in predication),⁴ my aim here is not to critique these introductory accounts but to offer a survey thereof. Although *Wycliffe* and the Lollard translators were not innovating

Notes

¹ Ó Néill 1992. For the edition, see Harsley 1889.

² For a presentation of the Old English translations of the Psalms, see Toswell 2014. Cf. Brown 1999.

³ For more information concerning the Lollards and Wycliffe, see Ghosh 2002. Cf. Hudson 1988.

⁴ Boyle 1985.

by translating the Bible into English, and the repeated mention of the 1199 interdiction is influenced by the true and enforced interdiction of the 1407 *Arundel Constitutions*, clearly the increased popular access to the Holy Word marked an important shift in society. Ordinary people now had a say about how their spiritual life was considered, led, and supported.⁵ Nevertheless, the gradual disappearance of the Old English tradition during the century after the Norman Conquest gave rise to a Middle English tradition which had more in common with its French contemporary counterpart than with its Old English roots.

In fact, most of what has been said about French translations of the Psalter can be applied to the Middle English texts, though their number is lesser. English literature preserves several examples of Metrical Psalms well before the Reformation. The *Old English Metrical Psalter* is my first example, in spite of the gap between the Old and Middle English periods. It was followed, after several centuries, by the *Surtees Psalter*.⁶ The translation of the Penitential Psalms by the Carmelite monk *Richard Maidstone*, at the end of the 14th century,⁷ stands alongside that of *Thomas Brampton*, in c.1414.⁸ At a much later date they were joined by the Psalm paraphrase of *Thomas Wyatt the Younger* (1534-1541), inspired by a prose version by Aretino;⁹ the *Metrical Psalter* of *Robert Crowley* (1549), inspired by that of Calvin; and the one by *Thomas Sternhold* (1547-1549).¹⁰ This practice of paraphrasing Psalms into verse continued until later, during the Elizabethan age.¹¹ French Psalter translations, adaptations, and paraphrases were thus similar to those of the early French literature.

On the other hand, there are also many English word-by-word translations of the sacred text, in its original form or in commentary. Some of them follow French precedents, but they were very rare. In this category are the *Midland Prose Psalter* (or the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter*), a Middle English translation of an Anglo-Norman Psalter copied in the French manuscript 6260 of the National Library of France, in Paris.¹² In addition to the famous translation by *Richard Rolle* are also the *Wycliffite versions* of *Richard Rolle's English Psalter*, recently edited.¹³ The mere mention of this text opens the way to the realm of a completely different category of translations, the Lollard corpus, with its different heterodox or heretical stakes.

However, a complete inventory of all the translations of the Psalter is impossible to consider here, much as it was impossible to write a complete presentation of all the French medieval translations of the Psalter. Therefore it might be best to tackle a problem that first arose in the English translation of the sacred text, announcing thus, after a fashion, some issues that will be discussed in the Czech translations, with which some of the English texts may or may not have been related. Instead of focusing on a smaller corpus, I will consider the question of heterodoxy or heresy from a philological perspective and shift attention from the complete or incomplete translations of the Psalms towards the fragments quoted in many texts of the period.

* * *

The Oxford ms *Bodley 806* is a collection of sermons from the beginning of the 14th century that cannot be easily considered either Lollard or Orthodox (that is, rightfully or properly Catholic). It is a relatively small manuscript with no decoration, having served as source material in all likelihood, rather than as an actual preaching tool. Its date, along with

Notes

⁵ For more information on reception and dissemination of the Wycliffite translation, see Muir 1935, p. 305.

⁶ Stevenson 1847. Cf. Sutherland 2015, p. 93-103, 121-135.

⁷ Edden 1990.

⁸ Kreuzer 1951.

⁹ Stamatakis 2012.

¹⁰ Quitslund 2008. For the English tradition of Metrical Psalms, see also Zim 1987.

¹¹ See for this the paraphrases of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, or that of Philip and Mary Sidney. Cf. Hamlin 2004.

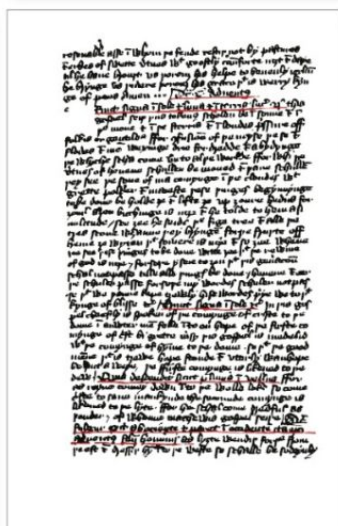
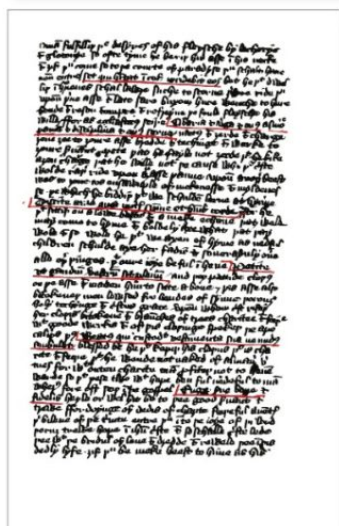
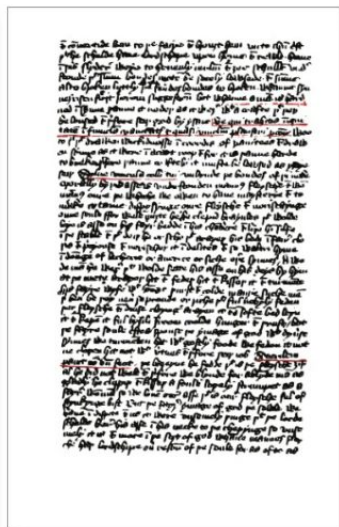
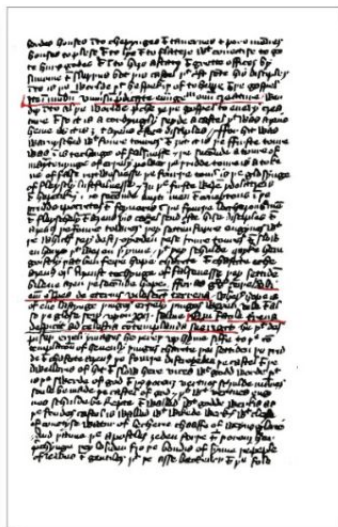
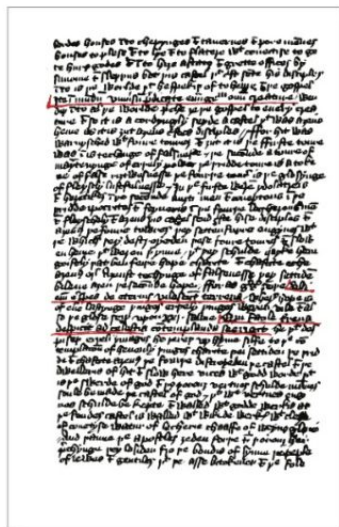
¹² Black, St-Jacques 2012.

¹³ Hudson 2012-2014.

many other features, remains a matter of debate. Its hand places it in the first half of the 14th century. Corroborating this hypothesis against internal elements from the text, it appears that it may have been written before the *Arundel Constitutions* (1407) or King Henry IV's *De Heretico Comburendo* statute (1401): the compiler refers many times to the harassment of like-minded individuals, but does not quite state that they had suffered the death penalty, notoriously put into effect for the first time in England for heresy of the Lollard kind in 1401. Here are two passages from the manuscript that fuel this dating debate, taken from the sermon from the Sunday in the Ascension octave:

Venite et occidamus eum, quia contrarius est operibus nostris. 'Come 3ee', þey seiden to þe lewes, 'and smyte we hym with þe tounge, for He is contrarie to oure werkis; al þe worlde weendip aftir

Fig. 1-6. Bodley 806 ms of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, f. 1^r-4^r. Drawings after a microfilm facsimile.



hath his wille in the lawe of the Lord, and schal think in his lawe, bothe nyght and day'. For he schal be as a tree, that is wijsli plauntid biside the rendels of watris, that schal yyue his fruyte in his due tyme, and his leef [that is, his virtue] schal not falle away, but alle thingis that he schal do, in grace schullen be welthi. Wel is him that so may studie to fynde pese precieuse fruytis, to make faire her owne soule wiþ flouris of holi writ. Thanne Crist wole take his resting place in pe chaumbre of her conscience.

The same Psalm in translation is found in **Bodley 806** in the 23rd Sunday after Trinity, as support in a diatribe against the corrupt clergy of the compiler's time:

...false prestes and prelatis þat weenden aweye in her lyuyng from þe treupe of Cristes techyng, and weenden þese dayes into þe wickide counsel with þe pharisees, ful of malice to take Cristes seruauantis in her wordes, and with þe power of þe Kynge, with lesynges [lies] and false witnesse, namely if þey speken þe treupe and stoppen synne by her power. And þis is seyn and oponly knowen, and yut Cristes Lawe wole haue his course; bot as þe Sauter Book seiþ: *Beatus vir qui non abiit in concilio impiorum*. 'Blessed be þe man þat ede not in þe counsel of wickid'.

The canonical nature of the Psalm translation cited in Bodley 806 is therefore still up for debate. As previously noted, certain passages do indeed lean towards the use of Lollard imagery or formulae.¹⁶ A particular case can be built on a phrase inserted between an allusion to the Psalms 90:13 and a quotation of Psalm 118:105:

Penkyng whereof he is icome and whar to He schal turne aȝen, strongly markyng þee staf of þe Cros, smyte þen hyme with Goddis worde redyng, or with sum oþur good occupacion doyng, as to ryse vp nakid and bete þi styngyng fleysche with a ȝerde, where þe Fende hideþ hyme in þat fleysche. 'And so þu schalt al totrede vndir þi feete Saatanas'. And nedeful it is to a man þat weendeþ in derke weye a **lanterne with liȝt**. Liȝt in þe derke wey of þis lyfe is þe worde of God, as þe Salme seiþ: *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, lumen semitis meis*. 'Þi worde is a lanterne to my feete, and liȝte to my paþus'. He seiþ not þe plastre of Galiene is good for suche temptacions, ne Trebelynes lawe, bot þe lite lanterne þat is þe worde of God, for þis oþre is þe brande lityng þe weye þat ledeþ man to Helle.

The use of the expression **lantern with light** may indicate that the compiler of the sermon had read a Lollard opus bearing the same name, where many ideas similar to his may be found. The use of the expression "just" or "righteous men" in these sermons may point towards the same direction. Furthermore, in some cases the quotations seem to derive directly from the Lollard Bible (1382-1395).

MS BODLEY 806: *Qui confidunt in Domino sicut mons Syon non commendabitur in eternum qui habitat in Ierusalem*. 'Þey þat tristen in the Lord (...) as þe Mount of Syon: he schal not be **remoued** withoute ende, þat dwelleþ in Ierusalem'.

Notes

¹⁶ For more information, see Hudson 1985.

Psalm 124 :1

LOLLARD BIBLE: Thei that tristen in the Lord ben as the hil of Syon; he schal not be **moued** with outen ende, that dwelleth in Jerusalem.

These may be, in fact, perfect coincidences that may lead towards the idea

that the sermons contained in **Bodley 806** are dependant upon the Lollard Bible. However, a different interpretation may be possible. If we return to the Psalm quotation located after the phrase “*lantern of light*”, we find that the English translation closely resembles the one found in the Lollard Bible:

Psalm 118:105

LOLLARD BIBLE: Thi word is a **lanterne** to my feet; and liyt to my **pathis**.

MS BODLEY 806: *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, lumen semitis meis*. ‘Pi worde is a **lanterne** to my feete, and liȝte to my **paþus**’.

Everything seems to fall into the right place, but this may also happen because the Latin syntax presents a different word order than the English, whose word order cannot accept the nominal predicative of the subject before the subject and the verb. Another example may also support this theory:

Psalm 71:6

LOLLARD BIBLE: He schal come doun as reyn in to a **flees**.

MS BODLEY 806: *Quia descendit sicut pluvia in vellus*, “ffor as reyne comeþ down into þe **wolle**”.

There is also a quotation and translation of the Psalm 10:7, where most of the words are the same, but for two key ones:

Psalm 10:7

LOLLARD BIBLE: ...brymston, and the spirit of **tempestis** ben the part of the **cuppe** of hem.

MS BODLEY 806: *Sulphura et spiritus procellarum pars calicis eorum*. ‘Brumston and þe spirite of **stormes**, parte of þe **chalis** of hem’.

Further examples exist, for instance in a phrase mixing two quotations (Psalm 44:4 + Psalm 149:6), because of their relative similar content:

Psalm 44:4 + Psalm 149:6

LOLLARD BIBLE: Be thou gird with thi sward; on thi hiȝe most myyti [...] and swerdis scharp on ech side in the hondis of hem.

MS BODLEY 806: *Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime*. ‘Girde þu þe with þi swerde vpon þine hippe, worþily or miȝtely [...] *Gladii ancipites in manibus eorum*. ‘Swerdes double egehed in þe hondes of hem’.

Similar choices of words are to be found in many cases, but there are also many passages where the two texts diverge greatly from one another:

Psalm 41:9

LOLLARD BIBLE: ...the Lord sente his merci in the dai.

MS BODLEY 806: *Qui in die mandauit Dominus misericordiam suam*. ‘For in þat dai, God comaundide His mersy’.

Perhaps the word order in the manuscript may be influenced by the Latin quotation which precedes the translation. Nevertheless, other differences point towards a direct translation from the Latin text copied in the manuscript. Such are the cases of the words chosen to sound like the Latin ones, whilst the Lollard Bible proposes a different and correct translation with another word. And there are also completely different translation choices, passages where the Bodley 806 version diverges completely from the Lollard text:

Psalms 54 :16, 7:13, 2:4

LOLLARD BIBLE: ...and go thei doun quyk in to helle

MS BODLEY 806: *Descendebat in infernum viventes*. ‘Lyuyngþe þey eden doun to helle’.

LOLLARD BIBLE: ...he schal florische his sward; he hath bent his bouwe, and made it redi.

MS BODLEY 806: *Gladium suum vibrabit; arcum suum tetendit*. ‘He schal brandische his swerde and he schal bende his bowe’.

MS BODLEY 806: *Set qui habitat in celis iridebit eos.* 'Bot He þat dwelliþ in heuenes schal lawþe suche to scorne'.

LOLLARD BIBLE: He that dwellith in heuenes schal scorne hem; and the Lord schal bimowe hem.

Mediaeval translation practice was far from consistent or easy, varying from word-by-word translation to adaptations, abridgements and even *ad-hoc*, oral ones. Most clerks knew their Psalms by heart. Translation was therefore a delicate exercise, especially when it came to the sacred text, where beyond the mere words the translator had to make sure the doctrine was fully conveyed. Where the translation of the Psalms is concerned, Michael Kuczynski points out an added layer of difficulty to it: the three textual traditions of the Psalter, as well as the sheer number of other, patristic, texts like Augustine's *Ennarationes in Psalmos*.¹⁷ He also makes a compelling case for the medieval translator's propensity of taking the biblical text to the letter and for doctrinal preservation in translation by signalling the words of the anonymous author of the *General Prologue* to the *Wycliffite Bible* who praises the special virtue of the Psalms if they are regarded accurately and attentively, for:

Noo book in the eld testament is hardere to vndirstonding to vs Latyns, for oure lettre discordith myche fro the Ebreu, and many doctouris taken litel heede to the lettre, but al to the goostly vndirstonding [*i.e.*, interpretation is more important than the literal meaning]. Wel were him that koude wel vndirstonde the Sautir, and kepe it in his lyuyng, and seie it deuoutly, and conuicte Jewis therbi; for manye men that seyn it vndeoutly, and lyuen out of charite, lyuen foule on hemself to God, and blasfemen hym, whanne thei crien it ful loude to mennis eeris in the chirche.¹⁸

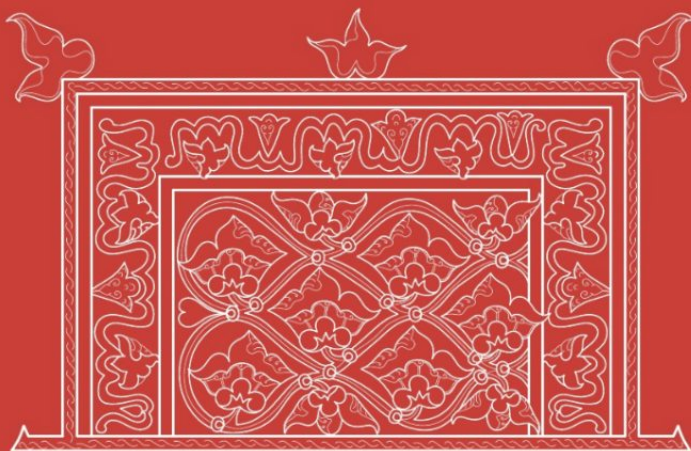
The evidence suggests that, for Lollards, or Lollard sympathisers, the Psalter and its text are paramount to leading a good life and obtaining redemption. Michael Kuczynski¹⁹ underlines that meant in practice that the translation issues needed to be dealt with in such a way as not to taint the basis of moral reading and reflection, since textual, interpretive, and ethical approaches to the Psalter are always interrelated in the Lollard doctrine: "Evidence of this relationship survives in a strong commentary on the Psalms, nearly 1,500 discrete but cohesive glosses [are] preserved uniquely in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 554." His forthcoming edition of this manuscript will greatly contribute to the existing scholarship and understanding of the translation practices in relation to dogma and Lollard doctrine.

Notes

¹⁷ Kuczynski 2010.

¹⁸ From the *General Prologue* to the *Wycliffite Bible*, chapter 5. See Forshall, Madden 1850, vol. 1, p. 15.

¹⁹ Kuczynski 2010.



When the sacred text was translated for the first time into Western vernacular languages, the Latin church showed great concern for a possible rise in heresy. This stemmed from the fact that the Waldensians – French and Italian heretics from the 12th-13th centuries – used a vernacular translation of the Psalms and preached to the people after translated texts. In the 14th century, the same problems faced the Lollards. They used English translations of the Bible for their preaching, and their example was followed by the Czech Hussites. More dynamic, the Hussites arrived all the way to the Kingdom of Hungary.

V.A.

The Old Czech Psalter and its Manuscript Tradition in Late Medieval Bohemia

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The Book of Psalms belongs to the most often translated parts of the Bible into Czech and it is also the oldest one. Four different Old Czech translations of the Psalter and several compilations and reworked versions appeared during 14th and 15th century, surviving in more than 50 medieval manuscripts and prints - in 15 Psalters, 28 Bibles, and 12 separated Old Testaments (Fig. 4) - and also in 10 manuscript fragments, coming from the Psalter, or from the Book of Psalms. During these two centuries, the Old Czech translation of the Book of Psalms has been reworked and improved over and over. The translators were differently motivated for the rendering the Psalms into Old Czech and they used various translation techniques.

The oldest continuous translation dates back to the end of the 13th century and was primarily intended as an interlinear aid for understanding Latin Psalms during the Mass liturgy and the Divine Office. Secondly, it was used in private prayer. It was translated quite literally, word by word, regardless of context, using common Czech words and phrases of that time. The oldest witnesses of the first translation are Old Czech glosses on the less common words inscribed around 1300 in a Latin Psalter from the middle of the 13th century.¹ A few decades later, at least two separate Old Czech Psalters were copied, but only short fragments of the manuscripts have survived to this day.² An entire Czech translation was also written between the lines of the Latin Psalter in the middle of the 14th century.³

The *Psalterium Gallicanum* was the primary Latin text that was translated into Old Czech. However, the translators also confronted it with other versions of the Latin Psalter, especially with the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, or the *Psalterium Romanum*. It is likely that the translators worked with biblical commentaries, probably with *Glossa ordinaria*, *Explanatio in psalmos*, written by Anselm of Laon, and an unknown biblical correctory.⁴ These anonymous scholars and translators must have been part of a cathedral school or a monastic school,⁵ and their project

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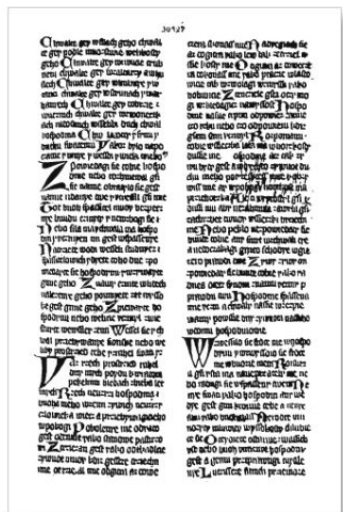
1 The so-called *Museum Glossed Psalter*, Prague, National Museum Library, xrv d 13, f. 32^v-140^v; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 8-9; Vintr 1986, p. 13-14, 18-19, 23-24; Sichálek 2016, p. 68-70.

2 The older fragment of the Psalter from the first half of the 14th century is the so-called *Museum Fragment of the Psalter* (Prague, National Museum Library, 1 A c 46, 4 f.; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 12; Vintr 1986, p. 15). The second Psalter, copied probably in the mid-14th century, is preserved in the so-called *Brno Fragment of the Psalter* (Prague, National Museum Library, 1 A c 63, 4 f.; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 12; Vintr 1986, p. 15-16).

3 The so-called *Wittenberg Psalter*, Wittenberg, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars, A vi 6; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 9-10; Vintr 1986, p. 15-16, 18; Kyas 1997, p. 32-33.

4 Vintr 1986, p. 22-34.

5 Vintr 1986, p. 43-47.



▲ Fig. 1. The end of the Book of Psalms (a Psalm 150 and canticles) of the *Dresden Bible*, f. 327. Drawing after a microfilm scan from the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

Notes

6 The manuscript of the *Dresden Bible* (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr.Dresd.Oe.85) was destroyed in 1914. Fortunately, a third of the manuscript was photocopied, and several parts of the text (Psalms, Tobias, New Testament) were copied before the destruction; cf. Kvas 1997, p. 37–41, Sichélek 2016, p. 72–77.

7 The so-called *Clementinum Psalter* from the mid-14th century, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII A 12; and *Truhlář's Fragment of the Psalter*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII J 17/9, 4 f.

8 E.g. *Kunstát Bible*, Brno, Moravian Library, Mk 3; cf. Kvas 1962, p. 17.

9 E.g. the *Chapter Psalter*, 1380s, Prague, National Museum Library, I E 65; cf. Kvas 1962, p. 14–15, Kvas 1997, p. 34; and Safářík's and *St Thomas Fragments of the Psalter* from the second half of the 14th century, Prague, National Museum Library, I A c 66/1–2, 5 f.; cf. Kvas 1962, p. 26.

was successful, as the first Old Czech Psalter translation was accepted by pious readership, it circulated among the clergy and was also owned by high noblemen.

In the 1350s, the Old Czech Psalter was incorporated in the **first translation** of the entire Bible. The copy of the Book of Psalms in the *Dresden Bible*, the oldest known manuscript of the Old Czech Bible from 1360s,⁶ also contained two liturgical texts for Divine Office translated into Old Czech together with Psalms: the biblical canticles (e.g. The Song of Isaiah the Prophet: *Confitebor tibi, Domine* Is 12:1 - *Zpoviedati sě budu tobě, hospodine* "O Lord, I will praise Thee"; cf. Fig. 1), and the Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque vult - Ktož chce spasen býti*, "Whosoever wishes").

Compared to the first Old Czech version, the **second translation** of the Psalter from the middle of the 14th century is rather a solitary work of an anonymous scholar. It was influenced by a contemporary effort for more poetic and artificial expression, as the author often uses Latinisms and neologisms so that the wording of the Psalms and canticles is sometimes unclear and vague. One manuscript and one fragment containing the **second Psalter translation** are known from the 14th century,⁷ but the **second Psalter translation** was later also copied in some Bibles of the **second redaction** of the Old Czech Bible.⁸ The **second version** was maybe a little less influential than the first one, but some of its wording patterns spread into other translations. During a few decades, the **second translation** was reworked several times, often being mixed together with the **first translation**.⁹

The **third translation** of the Book of Psalms was undertaken at the end of the 14th century and it is a result of an already well-developed literacy culture during the reigns of King Charles IV and his son Wenceslaus. It was the time when great literary works were written or translated. While interpreting the Psalms, the third translator tried to express the sense of whole sentences, not only of individual words, thus he modernised the language and style of the older versions. And for the first time, superscriptions of Psalms, so-called *tituli*, were also included in the translation. These short verses at the beginning of each Psalm allude to biblical history, Temple worship, or Israelite literature.¹⁰

The new translation prevailed during the 15th century, both in its original form and in various modifications. It was preserved in several separate Psalters from the middle and second half of the 15th century,¹¹ and it was also included into other Bibles and Old Testaments of the **second redaction**. The oldest one among these is the *Boskovice Bible*, written probably in 1421–1424.¹² The **third redaction** of the Old Czech Bible translation reworked the third translation of the Psalter: the author unified the religious and biblical terms and intentionally omitted all canticles. It is best represented by the oldest surviving entire manuscript, the *Padeřov Bible* from 1432–1435 (Fig. 2).¹³ This **revised version** is also found in separate Psalters from the second half of the 15th century.¹⁴ A new translation of the Psalms appeared later in the first printed Bibles of the 1480s, striving to achieve clarity and poetic appeal.¹⁵

Translation:	Date:	Representative copy:	Characteristics:
1 st	around 1300	<i>Wittenberg Psalter</i>	interlinear, literal, common language
2 nd	mid-14 th century	<i>Clementinum Psalter</i>	poetic, artificiality, neologisms, vague
3 rd	late 14 th century	<i>Boskovice Bible</i>	language and style modernization, intelligibility
Revision of 3 rd	1410s	<i>Padeřov Bible</i>	terminological uniformity
4 th	1480s	<i>First Printed Psalter</i>	language modernization, uniformity, intelligibility, clarity

I will try to illustrate the differences between each of the four Old Czech Psalter translations according to five verses from the end of the Psalm 118. They differ in equivalents for unusual Latin phrases and abstract terms. For example, the translation of the most often psalmic Latin phrase *in conspectu tuo* (Ps 118:169) varies in each version: *před tvé vidění* (1st) × *v obezřetě tvém* (2nd) × *před tvář tvů* (3rd) × *před obličej tvůj* (revision of the 3rd, and 4th),¹⁶ while the Czech equivalent for Latin *meditatio* (Ps 118:174) remains the same, except in the last translation: *myšlení* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, revision of the 3rd) × *přemýšlování* (4th).¹⁷ Common Latin expressions are transferred in the Old Czech Psalters in the same manner, but also differently. The *Clementinum Psalter* even used new words, for example the verb *prozvěstovati* ‘announce’ is a calque of the Latin *pronunciare* (Ps 118:172: *Pronuntiabit lingua mea eloquium tuum - Prozvěstuje jazyk můj mluvu tvů*). Some differences may originate with a Latin variant in the original text: God’s commands are *aequitas* ‘rightness’ (Ps 118:172) according to *Psalterium Gallicanum*, but *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* has the adjective *iusta* instead of the noun. Therefore the oldest Psalter translated it as *pravedlivá* ‘righteous’ (similarly *pravedlná* in the 2nd), but the newer Psalters have there the abstract noun *spravedlnost* (3rd, 4th), or *pravost* (revision of the 3rd).¹⁸ The Old Czech *hospodin*¹⁹ refers to the Latin *Dominus* in all translations; only the revision of the 3rd, represented by *Padeřov Bible*, changed the Czech equivalent to the common word *pán* ‘lord’. This latter biblical manuscript also differs in the layout of Ps 118: it includes the names of Hebrew letters, which divide the long text of Ps 118 into sections according to Latin Vulgate.

Notes

10 Cf. Poleg 2012, p. 135.

11 *Horký's Psalter*, Prague, National Museum Library, III H 28; and a *Psalter of Unknown Origin*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII H 14; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 18–19.

12 Olomouc, Research Library in Olomouc, M III 3; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 17–18.

13 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1175; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 19.

14 E.g. *Psalter with St Francis*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII F 8; cf. Kyas 1962, p. 19.

15 Cf. Kyas 1962, p. 60, Vintr 2012a, p. 179–184, Vintr 2012b, p. 51, and Svobodová in the same volume.

16 Cf. Kyas 1962, p. 18, Kyas 1997, p. 32–33, Vintr 2012b, p. 55.

17 Cf. Vintr 2012b, p. 47.

18 Cf. Vintr 2012b, p. 48.

19 The word *hospodin* is a Old Slavic relict, and it has the meaning “Lord”; it has been used only for the designation of God in Old Czech texts.

Ps 118:169 *Tau*. Appropinquet deprecatio mea *in conspectu tuo*, Domine; iuxta eloquium tuum da mihi intellectum. 170 Intret postulatio mea *in conspectu tuo*; secundum eloquium tuum eripe me. 171 *Eructabunt* labia mea hymnum, cum docueris me iustificationes tuas. 172 Pronuntiabit lingua mea eloquium tuum, quia omnia mandata tua *aequitas*. 173 Fiat manus tua ut salvet me, quoniam mandata tua elegi. 174 Concupivi salutare tuum, Domine, et lex tua *meditatio* mea est.

Psalterium Gallicanum

Ps 118:169 Přiblíží se prosba má *před tvé vidění*, hospodine, podle mluvy tvé daj mi rozum. 170 Vendi prosba má *před tvé vidění*, podle mluvy tvé zprosti mě. 171 Vymluví rty má chválu, když naučíš mě pravedlenstvím tvým. 172 Vypraví jazyk můj mluvu tvů, nebo všechna kázání tvá *pravedlivá*. 173 Buď ruka tvá, aby spasla mě, nebo kázání tvá sem vzvolil. 174 Žádal jsem spasitele tvého, hospodine, a zákon tvůj *myšlení* mé jest.

Wittenberg Psalter 1st translation

Ps 118:169 Přiblíží se prosba má *v obezřetě tvém*, hospodine, podle mluvy tvé daj mi rozum. 170 Vejdí žádost má *v obezřetě tvé*, podle mluvy tvé vyprosť mě. 171 Vyřehnú rty má slávu, když mě naučíš pravedlností tvým. 172 *Prozvěstuje* jazyk můj mluvu tvů, nebo všechna přikázání tvá *pravedlná*. 173 Buď ruka tvá, aby uzdravila mě, nebo přikázání tvá vzvolil sem. 174 Sžádal sem zdravie tvé, hospodine, a zákon tvůj *myšlení* mé jest.

Clementinum Psalter 2nd translation

Ps 118:169 Přiblíž se prosba má *před tvář tvů*, hospodine, podle výmluvnosti tvé daj mi rozum. 170 Vejdí prosba má *před tvář tvů*, hospodine, podle výmluvnosti tvé vysvobod mě. 171 Vyřknú rtové moji chválu, když učiti budeš mě *spravedlností* svým. 172 Vypravovati bude jazyk můj výmluvnost tvů, neb všechna *spravedlnost* přikázání

Boskovice Bible 3rd translation

tvá. 173 Budiž ruka tvá, aby spasila mě, neb sem přikázanie tvá zvolil. 174 Žádal jsem spasenie tvého, hospodine, a zákon tvůj **myšlenie** mě jest.

Padeřov Bible
revision of
the 3rd translation

Ps 118:169 **Thau.** Přibliž se prosba má **před obličej tvůj**, pane, podlé výmluvnosti tvé daj mi rozum. 170 Vejdi žádost má **před obličej tvůj**, podlé výmluvnosti tvé vysvoboď mě. 171 Vyřknú rtové moji chválu, když naučíš mě spravedlnostem tvým. 172 Vypravovati bude jazyk můj výmluvnost tvú, neb všechna přikázanie tvá **pravost**. 173 Budiž ruka tvá, aby spasila mě, neb sem přikázanie tvá zvolil. 174 Žádal sem spasenie tvého, pane, a zákon tvůj **myšlenie** mě jest.

First Printed Psalter
4th translation

Ps 118:169 Přibliž se modlitba má **před obličej tvuouj**, hospodine, podlé řeči své daj mi rozum. 170 Vejdiž žádost má **před obličej tvuouj**, podlé řeči své vysvobodíš mě. 171 Vypravovati budú rty mé chválu, když naučíš mě spravelivostem svým. 172 Ohlašovati bude jazyk muoj řeč tvú, neb všechna přikázanie tvá **spravedlnost**. 173 Budiž ruka tvá, aby mě spasila, neb přikázanie tvá zvolil sem. 174 Žádal sem spasitele tvého, hospodine, a zákon tvuouj **přemyšlováně** mě jest.

There is a noticeable difference between the manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries: lectionaries and Psalters were the most widespread type of vernacular biblical manuscripts during the 14th century. The translations were initially limited only to the monastic communities where the Old Czech Psalter originated for the needs of nuns as an aid for understanding the Latin prayers, and it could have also been used for their private devotional reading. However, at least since the middle of the 14th century, Czech Psalters were spreading in the milieu of the lay noblewomen who did not know Latin or who preferred to pray in vernacular.²⁰ The so-called *Little Office of Our Lady* appeared at the end of the 14th century for the personal use of the laity and it was based on the Old Czech translations of the Psalter.²¹

- ▲ Fig. 2. The beginning of the sixth nocturnus of the Book of Psalms in the *Padeřov Bible*, f. 207. Drawing after an online photo of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1175, Vienna.

- Fig. 3. The beginning of the fifth nocturnus of the Book of Psalms in the *Old Testament of the Queen Cristina of Sweden*²⁴ (around 1440), f. 333^v. Drawing after an online photo of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 87, Rome.



This situation changed completely in the 15th century during the Hussite period: the number of people who could afford a cheaper paper manuscript was growing rapidly. Wealthy priests, noblemen and burghers began then to have access not only to the Psalter but to the entire Bible, or at least to the Old Testament with a Psalter. However, based on the surviving sources, they most often owned a separate copy of the New Testament. In the Hussite period, Czech biblical codices – especially New Testaments – were used as substitutes for liturgical books: supplemented also by various non-biblical texts with the function of liturgical aids, they could have been used during the Mass liturgy instead of missals and lectionaries.

As well as Latin Medieval Psalters, the Old Czech Psalters were used as a tool during Mass and Divine Office liturgy. The layout of the Psalter and non-biblical supplements contained in the manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries along with Psalms could point to their usage of the Psalter in practice. The Book of Psalms in the entire Bibles (or in Old Testament manuscripts) is often preceded by one, two, or even three biblical prefaces translated from Latin prologues.

Most Czech Psalters were divided into seven parts according to the *nocturni* of the Divine Office. The beginning of the Psalm from a new *nocturnus* was often marked by an illuminated initial letter (Ps 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, 109; cf. Fig. 2 and 3).²² Even in the oldest Psalters, the Psalms were divided into verses by red and blue initial letters, while the canticles and the Creed were added at the end of the Book of Psalms (except for the revision of the 3rd translation). In some older manuscripts, nonetheless, the canticles are placed at the end of the relevant *nocturnus* (e.g. in the revision of the first redaction of Old Czech Bible in the *Litoměřice-Třeboň Bible* and in the *Olomouc Bible*).²³ This layout has been frequently preserved in the 15th century, both in separate Psalters and in the Book of Psalms copied in the complete Bible.

The separate Old Czech Psalters were tailored according to the needs of their users, which is illustrated by two examples from the 15th century. The first Psalter, the so-called *Clementinum Psalter of unknown origin*,²⁵ belongs to the revision of the third translation of the Old Czech Psalter. Its first scribe wrote in the second half of the 15th century all the 150 Psalms and also some New Testament canticles (f. 1^r-141^v). In the Psalms, there are red initials at the beginning of the verses. Later, the second scribe added another text useful for the Divine Office: the Old Czech Hymns (f. 143^r-197^v), an index of Psalm incipits (f. 198^r-202^v), and an index of the Psalms for the Liturgy of Hours (f. 208^r-214^v; cf. Fig. 5). Each short Office summary contains only Psalm incipits (e.g. *Z hlubokosti volal sem k tobě* Ps 129:1 "From the depths I have called You"), which are marked with page numbers (e.g. *N IX*). The supplement was written in 1473 and it was intended for the use of a young man, Vítěk. The result is a combination of a Psalter and a Breviary in a simple form that might be usable for Divine Office in vernacular.

The second Psalter comes from 1475,²⁶ almost from the same period as the *Clementinum Psalter of unknown origin*. Its layout is nonetheless different. This manuscript was not intended for the Divine Office, but for personal prayer and therefore was extended by summaries, non-biblical texts to facilitate understanding the content, and prayers (Fig. 6). An epilogue by the author is placed at the end of the Psalter: a short text intended for the user of this book. It indicates that the manuscript was

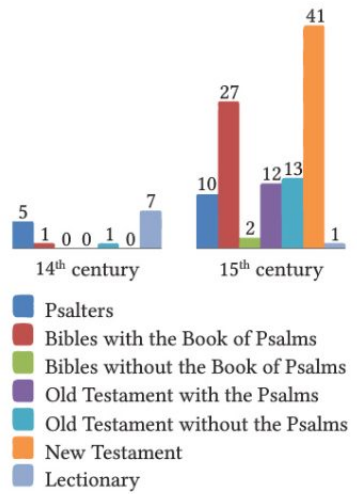


Fig. 4. Surviving Old Czech Biblical manuscripts.

Notes

²⁰ Cf. Vintr 2012b, p. 59-61.

²¹ Cf. Voleková 2017, p. 220-230.

²² Cf. Poleg 2012, p. 132-134.

²³ *Litoměřice-Třeboň Bible*, Litoměřice, State Regional Archives, Episcopal collections of Litoměřice, BIF 3.2, BIF 3.1; Třeboň, State Regional Archives, A 2; and *Olomouc Bible*, Olomouc, Research Library in Olomouc, M III 1/I-II.

²⁴ *Old Testament of the Queen Christina of Sweden*, Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 87.

²⁵ *Clementinum Psalter of unknown origin*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII H 12.

²⁶ *Jieša's Psalter*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII E 15.



▲ Fig. 5. *Clementinum Psalter of unknown origin*, f. 1r and f. 208r. Drawing after a photo of the National Library of the Czech Republic (Národní knihovna ČR), XVII H 12, Prague.

► Fig. 6. *Jieša's Psalter*, f. 1r. Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic (Národní knihovna ČR), XVII E 15 © National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague.

made for a brother called Jieša, who wanted to have his personal Book of Psalms in Czech (*Bratře Jiešo, požádalš ote mne a častými prosbami pilně jsi prosil, ať bych žaltář napsal českým jazykem... f. 116r* "Dear brother Jieša, you have often and diligently asked me to write you a Psalter in Czech language..."). His anonymous friend copied for him an Old Czech Psalter in the form of a prayer book and brother Jieša had to pray the Psalms, meditate, and follow King David's wisdom (*Protož, milý příteli, otevřiž oči tvé hospodin, aby skryté poklady múdrosti vysoké svého spasenie v tomto žaltáři Davidově právě shledal, jimi v cestě svého života po vše dni se spravoval a skrze ně vlasti nebeské, k níž putuješ se všemi volenými, šťastně dosáhl... f. 116r* "Therefore, my friend, Lord shall open your eyes, so that you will find a hidden treasure of the high wisdom of your salvation in this David's Psalter, you shall follow it every day on the way of your life and through it you will come to the heavenly homeland, to which you peregrinate with all the elected...").

The layout of the Psalms in the Psalter consists of three parts: a superscription, the text of the Psalm, and a prayer. The superscript rubric is composed of two parts: the *titulus*, where in the first verse of the Psalm is placed at the beginning (e.g. *Tento žalm učinil David, když shřešiv utíkal před Absolonem, synem svým*. Ps 3:1 "The psalm written by David when the sinner fled from the face of his son Absolon"). In the second part, a summary is added: it encapsulates the content of the Psalm and its literal meaning, sometimes it contains also metaphorical, especially Christological meaning (e.g. *A tůží spravedlivý bohu, že sú se rozmnožili nepřítelé jeho...* "The righteous complains to God, that his enemies have multiplied..."). The Psalm begins with the Old Czech translation of the second verse (e.g. *Pane, proč sú se rozmnožili, kteříž mütie mě* Ps 3:2 *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me?*) and ends with a short prayer (e.g. *Vylí, hospodine, požehnání tvé na nás, abychom tvým z mrtvých vstáním ohrazení jsouce, nebáli bychom se protivných hřiechův obklíčení*. "Pour out, Lord, the blessing to us, that we, strengthened by your resurrection, should not be afraid of the encirclement of adversary sins."), regularly marked with the rubric *Modlitba* ("Prayer").

The Old Czech Psalters are important witnesses of religious practice in the pre-Hussite and Hussite periods. They were made for personal use, therefore they bear witness to manner in which the vernacular uses of the Psalter transformed this book during two centuries, since the Psalters were specifically created according to the needs of the users. While the first Czech Psalter used to be owned by noblewomen and nuns who used them for personal devotion, in the 15th century the Psalter became a prayer book for private use, possession of pious men also. This tradition of the Psalter does not end with the medieval manuscripts. It continues in *incunabula* and early prints. The *First Printed Psalter* of 1487 took over the common layout of the earlier manuscript books and integrated the fixed paratexts (superscriptions and canticles). This opened a new chapter in the history of Czech Psalter translations, built on the previous medieval tradition.

Ces. Coll. Joh. I. s. Praga

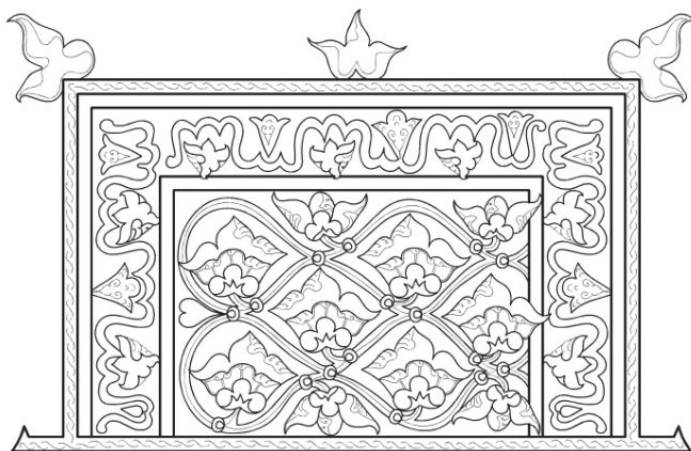
a aby nezahynuli scesty spravedlive Rdy
 se zapali w kratce hnieu ge. Blazen w sici
 kretz v fagi ymie. **Modlitba Zlamav**
 hospodine olovv kretchow. abychom gsem
 tve sluzebnosti spogem. mo gli bychom tobie
 stiesemim a poctimostu sluziti **Dento zalm**
am l. david. Rdy kretz v vrieal pred ab
solonem synem svym. Tak se modli pnu
inw se panu. Rdy kretz spravedlivy bohu se
su se roznosili neprietde ge. a pro sv pro
steme od mch. pravie sve pomizenie v
Pane pro se roz. v rseme otbo.
 mmonli kretz mltie mie. mmon pnu
 prauagi proti mne. mmonit diegi dusi me.
 nemet spasenie gi w bohu gegiem. **Alle ty**
pane prapinat moy gfi. chvala ma. apo
wrsuge glawy me. klasem mym hospodiv
wolal sem. avstysal ge mie shory sinate sve
lat sem. spal achrpal sem. apowstal sem. neb
pan pial ge mie. Debudut se bati tistow
lidi kretz oblietugi mie. powstan pane spa
lena mie vcin boze moy. Debos ty zbil w se
ty kretz su se mme protivili berwin. zuby
griesnych zetril gfi. Panie gt spasenie. a
nad lidem twym poroknatie tue. Modlitba
Byli hospodine poroknatie tue nana. a
bychom twym zint twych wstanim ograje
gspice. nebalibychom se protivnych kretchow
oblieteme. Dento zalm vcin l. david. Rdy

fol. 1-106.

fol. 107-114.

fol. 114-116.





The first Czech translation of Psalm 150, preserved in the oldest Czech Bible, Dresden Bible (late 1360s):

Chvalte hospodina v svatých jeho, chvalte jeho v tvrdosti moci jeho.

Chvalte jej v silách jeho, chvalte jej podlé množství velikosti jeho.

Chvalte jej v zvuce trúbném, chvalte jej v žaltári a v húslech.

Chvalte jej v bubně i v tanci, chvalte jej v strunách a varhaních.

Chvalte jej v zvoncích dobře zvučných, chvalte jej v zvonečkách radostných.

Všeliký duch chval hospodina!

The New Old Czech Translation of the Psalter in the First Printed Bibles

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When considering printing in late medieval Bohemia, it is worth mentioning that the first printing house was founded in the 1470s, surprisingly not in the capital Prague, but in Pilsen, due to its Catholic predominance and business contacts with the free imperial German cities, especially with Nuremberg.¹ Once three Latin books had already been printed,² the first Czech book also appeared: The *New Testament with Signet*.³ Some doubts have been cast about the dating of this print. Studies have placed it in the 1470s,⁴ as the printer mark at the last page, the so-called signet, used to be read as 1475 (Fig. 1). However, more recent research based on the study of watermarks pointed out the years 1482 or 1483 as more likely.⁵ The identity of the first printer remains unknown. From his first edition he is mostly known as the *Printer of Statuta Ernesti*.

In terms of the wording of the biblical text, this edition of the New Testament follows the second Old Czech translation from the beginning of the 15th century.⁶ The other biblical incunabula contain a new translation, the so-called fourth redaction, that probably appeared in the Utraquist-oriented Prague University in the 1480s.⁷ The reason for which this first biblical print used a translation which must have been already outdated, was probably of confessional nature: the Catholic church simply refused the new translation on account of its Utraquist origin.⁸

Concerning the new translation of the Book of Psalms, there are five Old Czech printed editions, both of separate Psalters and entire Bibles. The Psalter was printed separately for the first time in 1487, in Prague. The printer remained unknown for a long time and he was simply known as *Printer of the Psalter*. Nevertheless, based on a typological study of the printing, he was recently identified with Martin of Tišnov.⁹ There are two surviving copies (Fig. 2 and 3).¹⁰

The second separate Psalter was printed also in Pilsen, in 1499, by Mikuláš Bakalář (Fig. 4).¹¹ As part of the entire Bible, the Book of Psalms was also printed by an unknown printer in 1488, within the so-called *Prague Bible* (Fig. 5),¹² and a year later by Martin of Tišnov in Kutná Hora,

Notes

1 Cf. Boldan, Neškudla, Voit 2014, p. 70.

2 *Statuta provincialia Arnesti* (1476), *Missal Pragense* (1479), *Agenda Pragensis* (1475–1478); cf. Boldan, Neškudla, Voit 2014, p. 63–64; Bohatcová 1990, p. 126.

3 *New Testament with Signet* (*Nový zákon se signetem*), tisk, [Plzeň, Tiskár Arnoštových Statut, 1482/1483]. Copy: Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 44 B 67.

4 Cf. Bohatcová 1990, p. 126; Kyas 1997, p. 124.

5 Cf. Benešová, Boldan 2011; Boldan 2011.

6 Cf. Kyas 1997, p. 66. In the 14th and 15th centuries, there are four Old Czech translations of the entire Bible, the so-called “redactions” (cf. Pečirková 1998, p. 1198).

7 Cf. Kyas 1997, p. 124–130.

8 Cf. Vintr 2012a, p. 182.

9 Cf. Vobr 1996; Boldan 2012, p. 24; Voit 2015, p. 671; Voit 2017, p. 159.

10 *First Printed Psalter* (*Žaltář první tištěný*), print, Prague, [Printer of the Psalter / Martin z Tišnova] 1487. Surviving copies: Prague, Strahov Library, DP VI 16; Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 41 G 80.

11 *Bakalář's Psalter* (*Žaltář plzeňský Bakalářův*), print, [Plzeň, Mikuláš Bakalář], 1499. Used copy: Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 43 G 82.

12 *Prague Bible* (*Bible pražská*), print, Prague, [Printer of Prague Bible], 1488. Used copy: Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 41 B 19.

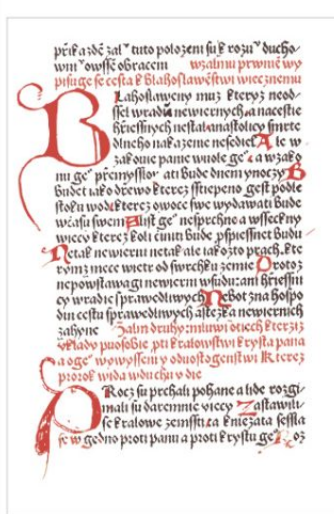
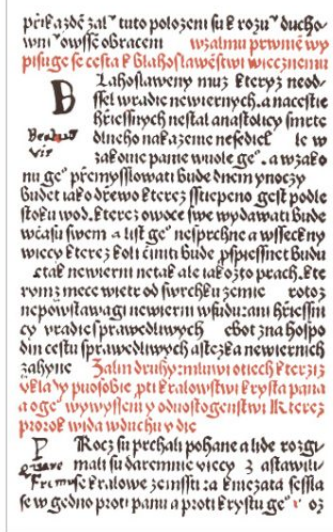


Fig. 1. The printer's mark in the *New Testament with Signet*, f. 209^r. Drawing after a photo from the National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague.

Fig. 3. *First Printed Psalter*, f. 3^r (second copy). Drawing after a photo from National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague.



Fig. 2. *First Printed Psalter*, f. 3^r (first copy). Drawing after a photo from the Strahov Library, Prague.

Notes

¹³ *Kutná Hora Bible* (*Bible kutnohorská*), print, 1st edition with signet, 2nd edition without signet, Kutná Hora, Martin z Tišnova, 1489. Used copy: Prague, National Museum Library, KNM 25 A 2b.

¹⁴ *Venice Bible* (*Bible benátská*), print, Venice, Peter Liechtenstein, 1506. Used copy: Prague, National Museum Library, 25 B 1.

¹⁵ The fourth translation survived also in two manuscript copies: in *Švehla's Psalter* from 1496 (Fig. 9), copied out of Prague Bible (the first folios are missing and so the text begins with the final verses of the third Psalm), and in the so-called *Old Testament with Large Script* from the turn of the 16th century, copied probably out of from Kutná Hora Bible (Fig. 7).

¹⁶ Cf. Boldan, Neškudla, Voit 2014, p. 103.

within a revised reprint of the *Prague Bible* text accompanied by pictures (Fig. 6).¹³ The last and fifth edition does not actually belong to the list of Bohemian incunabula, because it was printed in 1506 in Venice by Petr Liechtenstein (Fig. 8).¹⁴ However, as it is based on the *Kutná Hora Bible*, it may represent an important milestone in the history of Czech texts because it modifies not only the visual aspect due to the use of different font types and sizes, but language and content as well (see below).¹⁵

When comparing the Psalter prints and manuscripts, the layout of the incunabula seems to depend naturally on the technical possibilities of a particular printing house. The *First Printed Psalter* was printed without the large initials and lettrines for each verse. Therefore, all of these were hand-drawn in the two surviving copies, thus making each of them unique (compare Fig. 2 and 3).

The other incunabula containing the Psalter have the initials printed already, but in black, and therefore they were often highlighted in colour (e. g. Fig. 5 and 6). All the incunabula are printed in Bastard type, except the *Bakalář's Psalter* (Fig. 4), which was printed in a font known as great Schwabacher type. It was for the first time that this font was used in Bohemia and it is surprising that the printer, Mikuláš Bakalář, originally a Slovak but long living in Polish Krakow, did not consider the Rotunda font, which was popular in Poland at that time.¹⁶

Not only the form but also the content of the printed Psalters may vary: this most often reflects the expected usage. The separate Psalters were

probably intended for liturgical use and personal devotion, and as a result they also contain the Old Testament canticles. In the *First Printed Psalter*, all canticles include summaries; *Bakalář's Psalter* contains only a selection of canticles without summaries. Furthermore, the summaries to each Psalm are found in all of the incunabula. These summaries are located at the beginning of each Psalm and constitute a distinct textual unit.¹⁷ They may also be found in some early manuscripts, but with different wording.¹⁸ In prints, these short texts are graphically separated. In the *First Printed Psalter*, they are printed as rubrics, while in the other editions they are not, but in the surviving copies they are usually highlighted by hand, mostly underlined with red ink (Fig. 6). The *Venice Bible of 1506* contains an additional short introductory text to the Book of Psalms which provides information about its origin and names in other languages (Fig. 8).¹⁹

Other biblical paratexts included in the printed Psalter are the prologues: the fourth translation of the Psalter does not include any of the biblical prologues surviving in many Czech biblical manuscripts.²⁰ It only contains the preface with the incipit *Ne tak zjevně a otevřeně* ('Not so apparently and openly'). This is a translator's introductory text to the new wording of the Psalter which deals with the difficulty of translation of such a metaphorical and poetic text, and which outlines the problems of word by word translation in contrast with translation by sense, which aims to preserve the aesthetic value and factual accuracy. The author of this text also attempts to defend the new Czech translation of the Psalter, which tries to clarify some passages based on the Latin version of *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*.

All the printed Psalters (and also one of the manuscript copies (see note 8) begin with this preface (see Fig. 8), except for *Bakalář's Psalter*. Bakalář, a Catholic living in catholic Pilsen, did not probably accept the Utraquist translation altogether. Although he accepted it as his source, he modified the text according to the wording of the previous translation. And since he probably did not agree with the translator's preface, he simply omitted it.

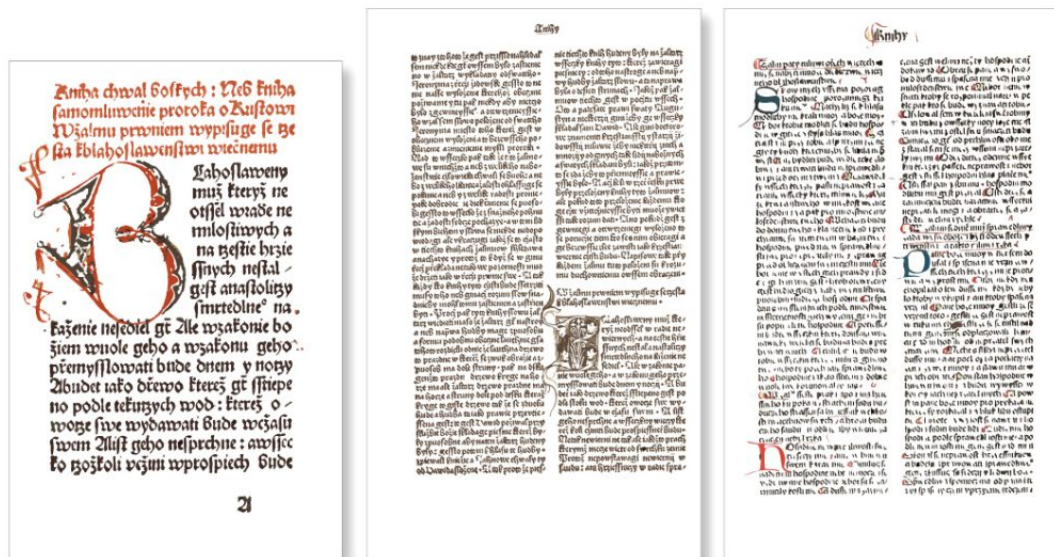
Notes

- 17 Cf. Poleg 2012, p. 135.
- 18 Cf. Voleková in this volume.
- 19 Svobodová, Matiasovitsová 2019. For the language analysis see Dittmann 2015, p. 55–57.
- 20 Cf. Voleková, Svobodová 2019.

Fig. 4. *Bakalář's Psalter*, f. 1^r. Drawing after a photo from National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague.

Fig. 5. *Prague Bible*, f. 27^r. Drawing after a photo from National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague.

Fig. 6. *Kutná Hora Bible*, f. 28^r. Drawing after a photo from the National Museum Library, Prague.



Lozeno. to se potauzie tiem
eto se smim obieragi a ge be
zewisse zle zawisti iakož k
zestianee wiernij giesti bu
du Napisowee take při
kazdem žalmu tuto polože
m gsu k rozumu duchow
memur owšem obracem

W žalmu prwmem wypi
suge se gesta k blahoslawen
stwi wičanemu.

Blahoslaweny
muž kteryz ne
odšel w radie
newiernych a
nagestie hrie
šnych nestal a na stolicy
smrtedlného nakazeme ne
sediel gest. Ale w žalome
pamie wuole geho a w za
konu geho přemyslowa
ti bude dnem y nočy. Abi
det iako dzevo kterez stie
peno gest podle četirých
wod. Kterez owotze swe wy
dawa ti bude w čas sive
A list geho nespřichne a w
sežlhy wiez y kterez koli ži
m ti bude prospiešnet bu
du. A letak nemilostiw
netak ale iakož to přich
kteryz smieta wiet od swr
chku zemie s protož nepo
wstawagi newiernij w
saudu. Am hziessingy w
radie spravedliwych stie

bot zna hospodin gestu spra
wedliwych a stezka newier
nych zahyne. **Žalm druhý**
mluwi o tierch kteryz vklad
puosobie proti králowstwi
kysta pana a geho wyw
semu o duostogenstwi ktera
protokorda w durtu y die

Prož gsu přichali po
hance a lidce rozg
mali su darenmie wiez y
Zastawili se kralowee zem
stij almezata sessla se w ge
dno proti panu a proti
kystu geho. Roztrhli mme
swazky gich a odwrzme od
sebe gho gich. Kteryz oby
w wnebesiech posmiewa
ti se bude gim a hospodin
poruhati se bude gim. Teh
da mluwiti bude k nim w
hmienu swem a w přichliw
st sive zarmutit ge. Ja pak
wstawen sem kralem od nie
ho nad syonem horu swa
tu geho. ohlasuge přika
zanie geho. Hospodin zekl
kennie syn mutoz gsy ty
iat sem dnes porodil tie
požadavz o demne a dam
tobie pohany diedigtwie
twe a wladazstwie twe
konžiny zemie. Sprawo
wati ge budeš w pratu
leznem a iako nadobu hni
gieze zetzeš ge. A nymie

Preface to the Psalter



Final part of the Preface

Summary to Psalm 1

Text of Psalm 1

Introduction to the Psalter

Fig. 7 (other page). *Old Testament with Large Script*, f. 25.
© National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague.

Fig. 8. *The layout of the Venice Bible*, f. A1^r. Drawing after a photo from the National Museum Library, Prague.

Fig. 9. *Švehla's Psalter*, f. 1^r. Drawing after a photo from the Research Library in Olomouc.

As to the wording of the fourth Psalter translation itself, Josef Vintř²¹ made a textual comparison of all of the Psalter incunabula (save for the *Venice Bible*) and came to the conclusion that “both Prague prints are almost textually identical, the Kutná Hora print has infrequent deviations, and the Pilsen Psalter, apparently printed for Catholics, differs significantly by returning to the wording of the third translation”.²² J. Vintř also dealt with the process of transferring the high spiritual poetry of the Psalter from Latin into “Old Czech as a young cultural language”²³ within all the biblical redactions. He primarily focused on the translation of gradually standardized equivalents for unusual or abstract terms,²⁴ and on psalmic poetry (imagery, parallelism, and dialogism).²⁵ He found the fourth translation as being the most clear, stable and readable of all the texts.²⁶

These findings point to the fact that the fourth redaction could already build on a rich tradition of the Czech writing (and Bible translation) and on a fairly settled terminology. The new wording is, despite some differences, quite consistent in form, content, and language. Its style could be regarded as an effort to make the language clear. This language modernization was done mainly by removing or reducing archaic features, as for example simple past tenses. Future research, based on a thorough analysis, may however prove its links with previous translations.

Notes

²¹ Cf. Vintř 2012a, 2012b. A brief study is also given by Vladimír Kyas in his monograph (cf. Kyas 1997, p. 129–130).

²² Cf. Vintř 2012a, p. 181, 184.

²³ Vintř 2012b, p. 61.

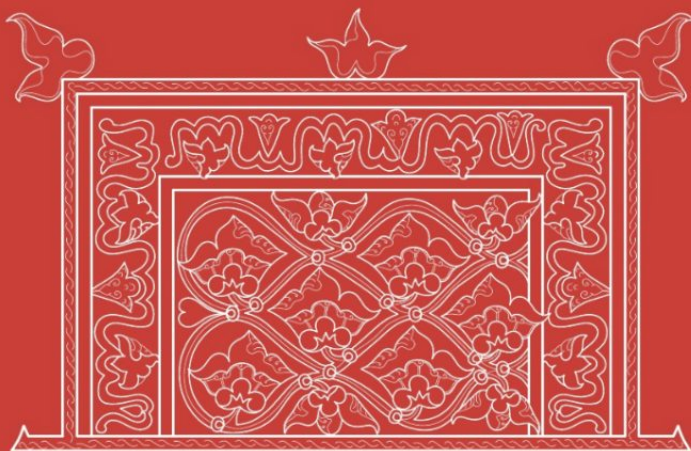
²⁴ See e. g. the Latin term *parabola*,

which is in the first three redactions translated as *pověst* ‘legend’, *příklad* ‘exemplum’, *pohádka* ‘tale’, or most often *příslowie* ‘proverb’, is in the fourth version newly translated (besides *příslowie*) as *podobenství* ‘parable’ (cf. Vintř 2012b, p. 45).

²⁵ See e. g. the phrase *sicut vitus abundans* which is translated in the

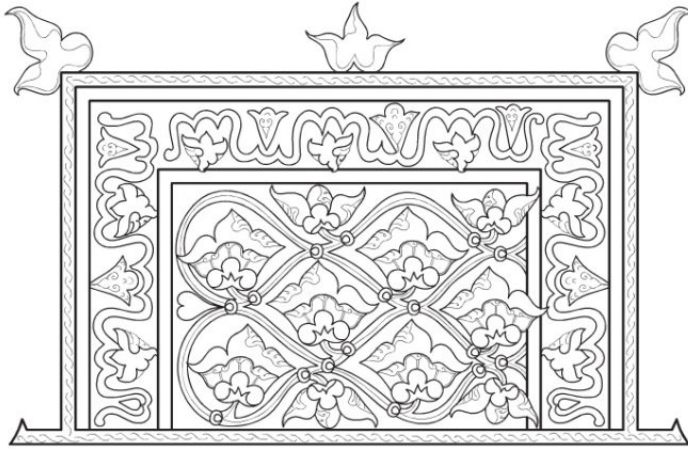
first three redactions as *prut vinný hojný*, *kmen vinný obilný* ‘abundant rod of wine’, *kmen ščedrosti* ‘rod of bounty’, *vinný kořen plný* ‘pregnant rod of wine’, and in the fourth version as *vinný kořen plodící* ‘fertile rod of wine’.

²⁶ Cf. Vintř 2012b, p. 51, 61–62.



*As far as the Hungarian language is concerned, the first Bible translation attempt dates to the 15th century, when the so-called **Hussite Bible** was compiled, presumably by Hungarian-speaking Hussites. Other attempts followed over a long period of time, and they ultimately led to the Protestant **Vizsoly Bible** (1590). This is the first complete printed Hungarian Bible; it represents the fruit of a long evolution, whose roots are maybe to be found in the medieval French, English or Czech translations that pre-figured the Protestant Reformation.*

V.A.



The Hungarian translation of Psalm 150, transcribed in the Codex of Keszthely (1522):

Dicsérjétek Urat ű szentibe, dicsérjétek űtet ű erejének erésségébe!
Dicsérjétek űtet ű jószágiba, és dicsérjétek űtet ű nagyságának sokasága szerint!
Dicsérjétek űtet kürtnek hangosságába, dicsérjétek űtet kintornába és hegedűbe!

Dicsérjétek űtet dobba és karba, dicsérjétek űtet húrba és orgonába!
Dicsérjétek űtet jó hangus zavú cimbalomba, dicsérjétek űtet vigasságus cinbalomba!

Minden lélek dicsérje Urat! Ámen.

Dicsőség Atyának és Fiúnak és Szentléleknek, miképpen vala kezdetbe és immár és minden-
koron erekkül erekké. Ámen.



SOLTAR KÖNYW.

ELSŐ SOLTAR.

Meg mondgya ez első dísféretben az Isten lelke, a Keresztén anyja fent Egy házának igaz rágáinak tulajdonágokat, tudni illic, hogy ez világi hitetlen gonoszteleneknek sokságától elszakadván, az Istenben és az ő fent igéjében vagyon minden gyönyörűség, kic noha nyomorúság alá vetetted, mind az által olyanoc, mint az mindenkor zöldellő fa. Az vran azt írja meghogy az hitetlenec noha ez világon feretfesset, mind az alral az polyuahoz hasonloc, mely meg tertzic az írelet napján, miuel hogy Isten az toknac gondviselősége, az gonosztoknac büntetőie, &c.



I.

BODOGEM-
ber az a ki az
hitetlenec ta-
nácán nem
iár: és az bün-
ösöknek v-

tán nem áll, az czúfolóknac si-
gökben nem ül.

2 Hanem az WR törvényében
vagyon az ő gyönyörűsége, és az
őtörvényéről gondolkodic éjfel
és nappal.

3 Ez ollyatan mint az folyó
vizet mellet plántáltatott termő
fa, mely gyümölcstét adgya ideie
korán, és kinec leucle meg nem
heruad; és minden czelekedete
jó szerenczés léssen.

4 Nem úgy az hitetlenec, ha-
nem léssinc mint az polyua mel-
lyet az siel ideftouá hány.

5 Annac okaért az hitetlenec
meg nem állhatnac az ítéletben;
sem az bündöc az igazaknac
gyülekezetiben.

6 Mert tudgya az WR az iga-
zaknac ýtokat, az hitetleneknek
pedig ýtoc el vési.

II.

Tanít előfő az Christus orfágának, és
az ő anyja fent Egy házának ez világon való
állapattjáról, mely ellen ez világ hiábanta-
nácokozic és rügodozic. Másodfő, írja meg
az Christus semélyet, tisztit és orfágának es-
rőrségét, nagyságát és örökké valóságát.
Harmadfő, írja meg ez világnac engedetlen se-
iedelmét az Isten fiának vgy mint igaz kirá-
nac elismeretire, felelémre és ő hozzá való
engedelmességre bizonyosokokkal.

1 **M**IERT dihösködnec az
pogányoc, és az népec
gondolnac heába valókat?

2 Az földnec királi ősiue gyűl-
nec, és az feiedelmec tanácot
tartanac az WR ellen, és az ő
Christusa ellen, (ezt monduán.)

3 Szaggassuc el az ő köteleket,
és rázzuc le rólunc az ő igái-
kat.

4 Az ki lakozic az égekben ne-
ueti, és az WR meg czúfollyá
őket.

5 Azkor siól az ő haragiában
ő nékiec, és búfúlásában meg
rötttenti őket, (ezt monduán.)

6 En pedig választottam az én
Királyomat Syonon az én sient
hegyemen.

7 Meg

a: Tudni il-
lic az wret.
és az ő Chris-
tusaiat.

Károlyi Gáspár

Szent Biblia

Holy Bible

Vizsoly, 1590

Biblioteca Județeană Mureș

– Biroul Colecției Speciale.

Biblioteca Teleki,

Târgu-Mureș

Szent Biblia az az Istennek O es Wy Testamentumanac prophétac es apostolok által meg íratott szent könyvei. Magyar nyelvre fordítottat egészben és wijonnan az Istennek Magyar országban való anya szent egyházának épülésére. Visolban, Nyomtattatott Manskovit Balint által, MDXC [1590]

Cota TF-4b/3.

RMK, I, 236; RMNy, I, 652.

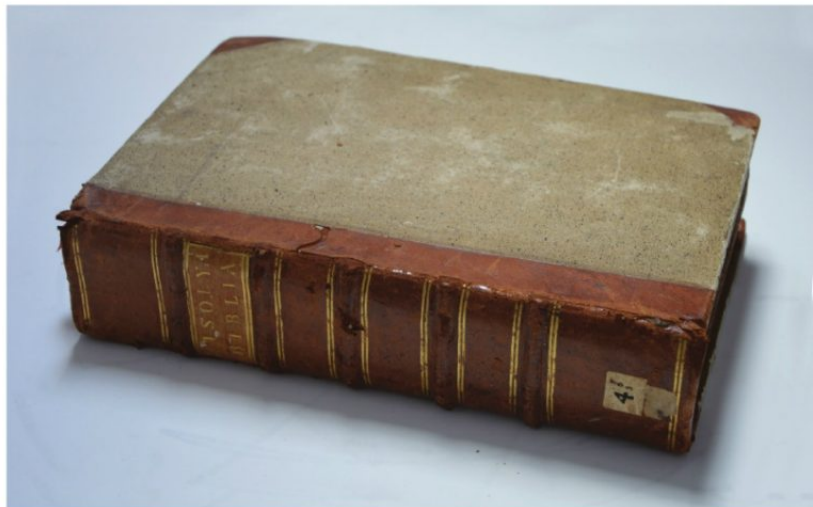
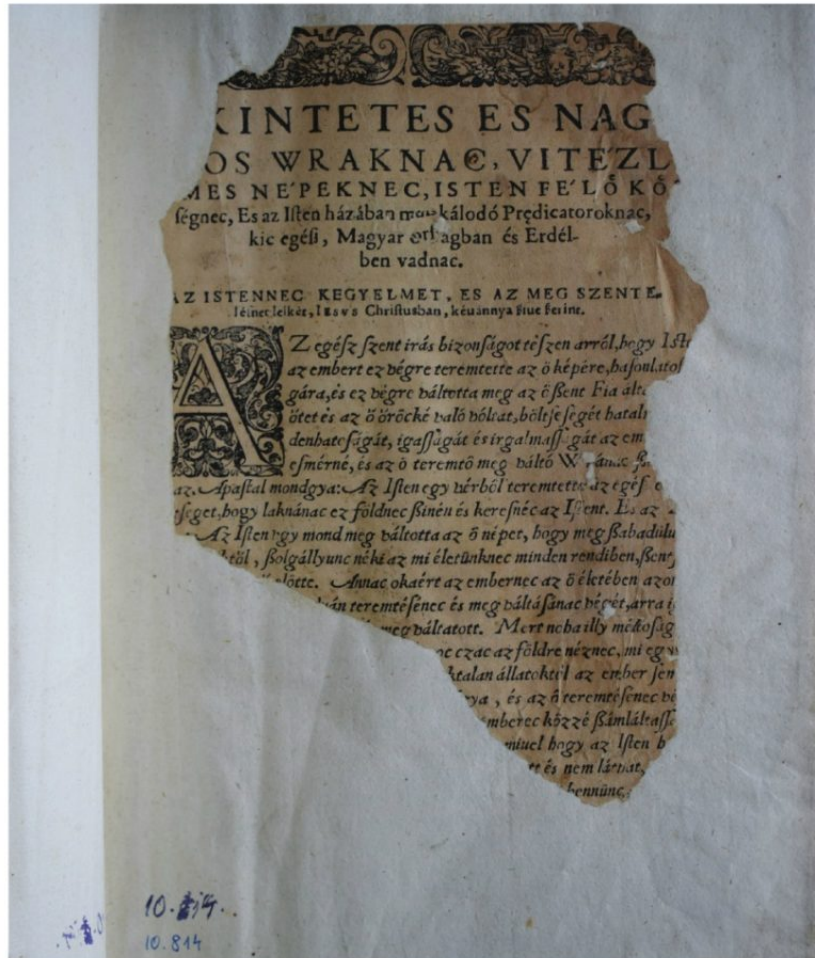
Catalogus I, B 149

[6] p. + p. 1-6, 8-9, 11-12, 14-674, p.[1] is missing (the title) + pp. 7, 10, 13, 675-686 + p.[1] + 275 p. + 236 p; p. 60 is misnumbered 90, p. 85 is misnumbered 58, p. 173 is misnumbered 171, p. 230 is misnumbered 203, p. 231 is misnumbered 131, p. 285 is misnumbered 286, p. 342 is misnumbered 234, p. 361 is misnumbered 351 and continues up to p. 411 which is correctly numbered 421, p. 398 is misnumbered 397, p. 478 is misnumbered 476, p. 504 is misnumbered 505, p. 550 is unnumbered, p. 598 is misnumbered 597, p. 602 is misnumbered 692, p. 641 is misnumbered 642.

In folio (30,5 x 21 cm), black type-face in Latin script on two columns of 41 lines per column. Printed decorative elements in the guise of initials, vignettes and frontispieces. The volume is bound in marbled paper over cardboard, and the spine and corners are bound in leather. Between the bands of the spine feature gilded lines and the title, VISOLYI BIBLIA.

Good overall state of conservation, with some wear, paper additions, brown paper oxidation, humidity stains, and minor woodworm bore holes.

Annotations: First cover: over the ex libris card of Zsuzsana Bethlen was applied another ex libris card of Sámuel Teleki. On p. 192: Sz. Amai Márton.



Abol babilon: abol baba: jenny: jydok: jny
j profet: hogj: nyj: enket: djejer: ad
jstennj

Jentinek: usj: fiamak: a: hogja: kazeleita
nepnek

Alleluia C L X

Eneketek: Senat: vj: eneket: a: diceri:
te: Jentinek: eghagaban: Grolan
israel: abban: ki: taltj: qtet: et: sromak:
lann: vigagyanak: a: kiralo: kban: Duci:
ietek: a: neuet: kaban: tympanomban
es: soltarban: eneketek: a: neki: Mert
iol: kelleter: vinnak: a: nepeben: es: fel:
magasztaltj: az: engedelmeseket: v: duq:

Meg: Grolan: Jentek: dicsogoben:
Grolan: a: harsolatban: Jstennnek:
a: omj: a: batoran: es: bet: elo: tarak:
a: kesekben: Grolan: termi: nemzetek:
ben: poraitatok: nepekben: Kiralo:
bet: meg: kotajm: bekobban: es: a: nemesse:
ket: vas: v: kaban: Hog: tegenek: a:
bennek: meg: ut: iteletet: dicsog: mend
a: Jentinek: Alleluia C L X

Dicerietek: vnat: a: Jentiben: dicerie:
tek: qtet: a: v: aganak: taltelletiben:
Dicerietek: qtet: a: dicsogoben: dicerie:
tek: qtet: a: magaganak: voka: jagaban
Dicerietek: qtet: teombitanak: jagaban
Dicerietek: qtet: soltarban: es: hegedoben:

Djejer: v: jny: ad: jstennj: nepj:
ad: profet

Hungarian Psalm Translations and Their Uses in Late Medieval Hungary

The author is a member of the HAS-NSZL
Res Libraria Hungariae Research Group.
She would like to offer her sincere
gratitude to the institutions that granted
her the right to publish reproductions
of codex pages from documents in their
collections.

Ágnes Korondi

Hungarian Academy of Sciences /
National Széchényi Library, Budapest

In many European lands, including East Central European countries such as Bohemia¹ or Poland,² the Book of Psalms was among the first biblical texts to be translated into vernacular languages. However, the rendering of the Psalter in Hungarian happened fairly late, only in the 15th century. Some passages of the legend of Saint Margaret of Hungary – a 13th century royal princess who lived her life as a Dominican nun – were interpreted to refer to a Hungarian-language Psalter used by the saint. Nevertheless, the actual references to the princess' recitation of the Psalms do not mention that this was done in the vernacular.³

The earliest codices containing the Hungarian translations of the Psalms originate from the late fifteenth century, an age when Hungarian-language literacy began to flourish for the first time, catering to the need of a restricted circle of readers for vernacular literature.⁴ This was a period of significant increase in literacy, an age "when the written word permeates the fibre of Bohemian, Polish, and Hungarian social life – even if there remain certain areas in which orality continues to be preeminent."⁵

The identity of the early Hungarian Psalm translations' readership has been debated in Hungarian literary history. The largest group of beneficiaries were probably the nuns who did not have a sufficiently good command of Latin to completely understand the texts of the divine office, and who therefore required vernacular translations to study the liturgical texts in private, thus being able to enhance their communal liturgical experience. In a recent monograph, Sándor Lázs has compared the vernacular book culture of these Hungarian nuns with that of the South-German observant cloisters, especially the Saint Catherine monastery of Nuremberg. On the basis of the German material, he argued that such vernacular Psalters were by no means used in the liturgy, but that they helped the nuns to familiarize themselves with the texts they had to recite and sing in Latin during the divine office.⁶ Moreover, some vernacular Psalm manuscripts were or may have been intended for the use of lay persons, who copied the liturgical practice of religious communities

Notes

¹ Pečirková 1998, p. 1169.

² Wodecki 1998, p. 1202-1203. See especially the *Psalterz Floriański* and the *Psalterz Puławski*.

³ Margaret's Hungarian-language legend mentions her using the Psalms as a form of private prayer: Balázs 1990, 13/7r. The acts of her canonization process contain several testimonies to the same: Csepregi *et al.* 2018, p. 170-171, 206-207, 220-221, 286-287. Neither source mentions explicitly that the Psalms were recited in Hungarian. The issue was discussed in detail by Boros 1903, p. 34-37.

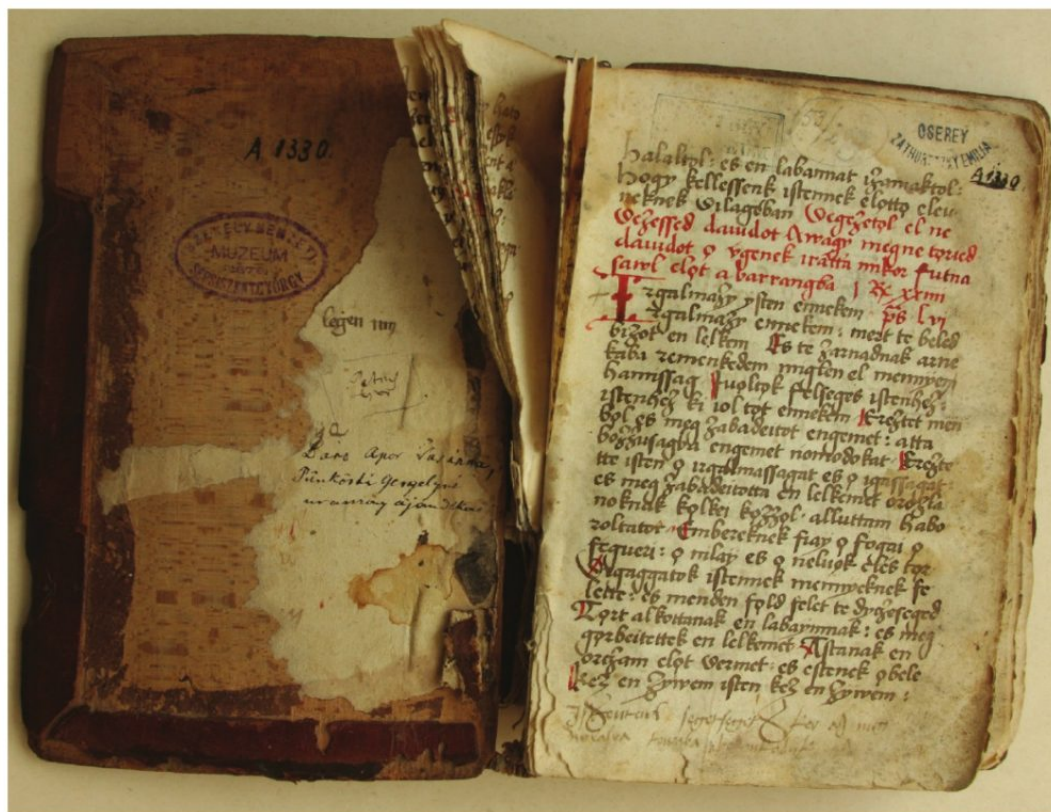
⁴ For a still useful overview on the beginnings of Hungarian literature see: Horváth 1931, p. 111-125.

⁵ Adamska 1999, p. 188. On East Central European literacy see also: Adamska, Mostert 2004.

⁶ Lázs 2016, p. 222.

◀ Fig. 1. *Apor Codex*, Székely National Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe, A. 1330, p. 164.

© Székely Nemzeti Múzeum / Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sepsiszentgyörgy / Sfântu Gheorghe.



▲ Fig. 2. *Apor Codex*, Székely National Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe, A. 1330, the codex before its restoration.

▲ Fig. 3. *Apor Codex*, Székely National Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe, A. 1330, bottom of p. 100.

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Notes

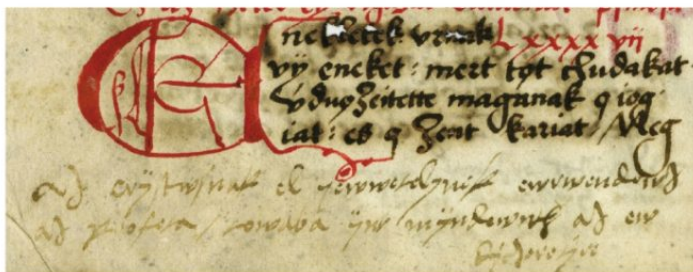
⁷ Madas 2013, p. 200.

⁸ Shelfmark: A 1330. Its recent edition containing a thorough introduction, the photography of each page and the letter-by-letter transcription of the text, as well as a CD with the digital copy of the manuscript: Haader et al. 2014. My presentation of the manuscript is based on the introductory study of this edition.

⁹ Due to the complete or partially missing leaves from the beginning of the codex, the first 29 Psalms are completely missing, while only fragments remain from Psalms 30–55.

as a form of private devotion. It must be emphasized, therefore, as Edit Madas did in her study on the use of Psalters in medieval Hungary, that although most Hungarian Psalm translations were made from Psalters for liturgical use, the vernacular versions themselves were never used in liturgy. They only served as aids in private devotion.⁷

The earliest among the Hungarian Psalm translations has been preserved in the *Apor Codex*⁸ to be found today in Sfântu Gheorghe (Hung. Sepsiszentgyörgy). This manuscript preserves a part of the first Hungarian Bible translation, the much-debated *Hussite Bible*. The seriously damaged (see Fig. 2) and lately restored codex was copied in two phases. The first section, consisting of a Psalter⁹ with the hymns and canticles of the divine office, originates from the end of the 15th century. This unit is the work of two hands. The part penned by the second scribe, who



took over the work from the middle of Psalm 50, preserves a text translated probably in the first half of the 15th century. With respect to its orthography and language, this translation is closely related to the Bible translations preserved in the codices of Munich and Vienna.

The second unit of the codex originates from the first decades of the 16th century (from before 1520). It consists of hymns and canticles (some of them already figuring in the previous part but in a different translation and orthography), a part of a Premonstratensian ordinal describing the liturgical actions to be performed yearly to commemorate the founders, benefactors, and deceased members of the Order and of the monastery, as well as a passion dialogue attributed to Saint Anselm. This 16th century part was probably prepared for the Premonstratensian nuns of Somlóvásárhely as a liturgical aid and devotional reading.

The Psalm translation of the *Apor Codex* was made on the basis of the *Psalterium Gallicanum*. The Psalms are given in a numerical order and not according to the order of the liturgy. They are introduced by rubrics offering information on the author, genre, and historical background of the text. These facts suggest that the translation was not made from a liturgical book, but from a manuscript containing the Book of Psalms or several other biblical books. However, the compilers of the first part of the *Apor Codex* intended to prepare a book to be used in connection with the liturgy. They added biblical canticles and the hymns of the divine office for the period from Advent to Easter to the Psalms, probably having in mind a *de tempore Psalterium cum hymnis* as a model. References are made to the liturgical function of some Psalms as well. For example, the rubric of Psalm 97 (see Fig. 3) mentions that this is the vigil of the seventh night (*Ez az heted ey vigazat*), which means that this was the first Psalm to be sung during the Vigils of Saturday night. The division of Psalm 118 into eleven parts, which ultimately results in 160 Psalms instead of 150, also goes back to a textual tradition connected with the liturgy.

An interesting addition was made to the Psalms of the *Apor Codex* rather early in the history of the manuscript. This consists of Hungarian-language summaries or titles to the Psalms entered in a Gothic cursive hand as marginal notes on the top and bottom margins of the pages. What is curious about these *marginalia* is the fact that they are almost identical to the summaries figuring in the prose Psalter translated by the Protestant István Székely and published in Cracow in 1548,¹⁰ though their orthography is different.¹¹ According to recent research, the marginals were probably written in the 1530s, before the publication of Székely's translation.¹² Both texts possibly draw from a common source.

The historians of the Hungarian language often argue that, out of all medieval Hungarian Psalm translations, the one in the *Apor Codex* is

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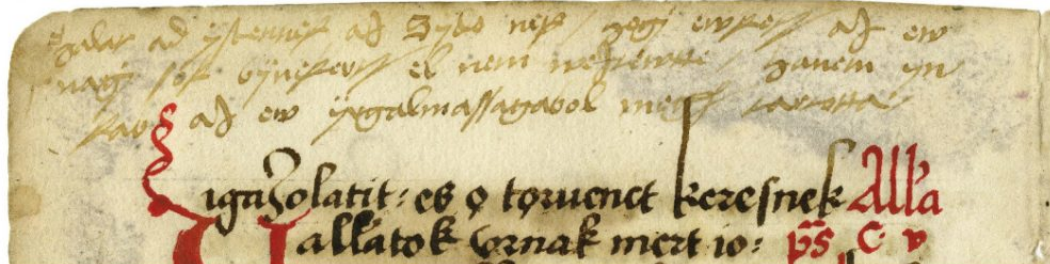
¹⁰ *Soltar könü Szekely Estvantul magyar niele forditatott...* [Psalter translated into Hungarian by István Székely...], *Krackoba* [Cracow], *Strikovia beli Lázár* [Łazarz Andrysiowic], 1548, RMK I 19, RMNY 74.

¹¹ See as an example Fig. 4, which shows the summary of Psalm 105 in the *Apor Codex*. The same text figures in Székely's edition as the summary of Psalm 106: *Halat ad istennek az Sido nep / hog' üköt az ü nag' soc bünökert el nem veflötte / hanem inkab az ü irgalmassagabol meg tartotta* [The Jewish people thanks God that he has not destroyed them for their many sins, but that he has preserved them in his mercy.] – *Soltar könü...*, *op. cit.*, f. 109^v.

¹² Réka P. Kocsis, who wrote the chapter on the marginal notes of the *Apor Codex* in the introduction of the codex edition (Haader *et al.* 2014, p. 80–82), dedicated several studies to the question. See for example: Kocsis 2015.

▼ Fig. 4. *Apor Codex*, Székely National Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe, A. 1330, top of p. 114. The beginning of Ps 105 and the summary / title copied on the upper margin.

© Székely Nemzeti Múzeum / Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sepsiszentgyörgy / Sfântu Gheorghe.



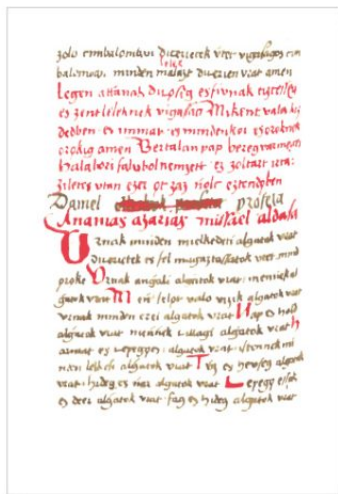


Fig. 5. *Döbrentei Codex*, Baththyaneum, Alba Iulia, R. III. 76, p. 230.
Drawing after an online photo available at manuscriptorium.com.

Fig. 6. *Codex of Keszthely*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, MNY 74, f. 4.
© Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest.

closest to the Psalter of the *Döbrentei Codex*,¹³ a manuscript preserved in the Baththyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (Hung. Gyulafehérvár).¹⁴ This other version was copied in 1508 by Bertalan of Halábor,¹⁵ a priest and notary who studied at the university of Cracow in 1493–1494. Besides the Psalter, the codex contains the translation of other biblical texts (pericopes for the entire year, the Song of Songs and the Book of Job), as well as canticles and hymns, sermons from the breviary, and a meditation on the Passion. The liturgical character of this completely preserved Psalter is more pronounced than that of the one in the *Apor Codex*. The Psalms in the *Döbrentei Codex* follow the liturgical order and the rubrics are also of a liturgical character.¹⁶ The Latin *incipit* of each Psalm is given in order to help the reader to identify them. Bertalan of Halábor did not mechanically copy the texts from his source, he often corrected and improved them. He must have been motivated by his pastoral duties.¹⁷ The codex may have been intended for lay users, familiarizing them with important biblical texts used in the liturgy such as the Psalms, in order to deepen their understanding of the official Latin liturgy. It may have been intended to serve as an aid to private devotion, its readers' using it as a prayer book.

Two other complete Hungarian Psalters further demonstrate the usefulness and popularity of such liturgy-inspired manuscripts, that helped devotees in communal prayer or were used in individual worship. The *Codex of Keszthely*¹⁸ and the *Kulcsár Codex*¹⁹ go back to the same original. The *Codex of Keszthely* was probably copied for a female community of Poor Clares or Franciscan tertiaries in 1522 in Léka (today: Lockenhaus in Burgenland, Austria) by Gergely of Velike.²⁰ His good knowledge of Latin (revealed by the frequent use of Latin abbreviations) as well as his familiarity with religious vocabulary (deduced from the mistakes he makes while copying) suggest that he was an educated clergyman. He may have been in the employ of the Kanizsai family, the owners of Léka. The *Kulcsár Codex* was penned by Pál of Pápa, an observant Franciscan friar, whose activity is well documented in the records of his Order. His mistakes in the Latin incipits of the Psalms reveal that he was not as good a Latinist as Gergely of Velike. Brother Pál finished a very similar copy of the Psalter, down to its structure, to the *Codex of Keszthely* as late as 1539.²¹ His manuscript was possibly meant for the use of the Beguines of Ozora.

Apart from the Psalms, both codices contain the *Te Deum* and some short prayers, *suffragia* and commemorations. The *Codex of Keszthely* also contains several hymns after the *Te Deum*, while the *Symbolum Atha-*

Notes

¹³ A good summary on the debate regarding the (written and oral) textual tradition(s) of the Hungarian Bible translations is given in the introduction to edition: Haader, Papp 1999, p. 33–37.

¹⁴ Shelfmark: Ms. III. 76. Digital copy available at: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct-record&pid=NLR___NLOBR_MS_III_76_2LD4LR5-ro (Accessed on: 10.09.2018.). Edition: Abaffy, Szabó 1995. The Psalter is on p. 15–230 / fol 8^v–115^v.

¹⁵ The colophon (see Fig. 5) on p. 230 / fol. 115^v says: *Bertalan pap beregvarmegei Halabori falvbol nemzett : ez zoltart irta: ziletet vian ezer ot zaz niole extendben.* [This Psalter was written in the 1508th

year of the Lord by the priest Bartholomew, born in the village of Halabor (today in Ukraine) in Bereg county.]

¹⁶ Madas 2013, p. 200.

¹⁷ His scribal attitude was described by Haader 2009, p. 63–64.

¹⁸ National Széchényi Library, shelfmark: MNY 74. Digital copy: <http://www.mek.oszk.hu/15900/15944/> (Accessed on: 15.10.2018.). Edition: Haader 2006. The information given below on the manuscript is based on the introduction of this edition, which also lists the extant secondary literature on the codex.

¹⁹ National Széchényi Library, shelfmark: MNY 16. Digital copy: <http://www.mek.oszk.hu/15900/15952/> (Accessed on: 15.10.2018.).

Edition: Haader, Papp 1999. The information given below on the manuscript is discussed at length in the introduction of this edition, which also gives an extensive bibliography on the codex.

²⁰ His name is given in the Latin colophon on the last page (450/fol. 228^v): *Et sic est finis huius operis per me gregorium de welykee et cetera In lewka. 1.5.2.2. Inceptum fuit hoc Psalterium in vigilia Iacobi Apostoli et est finitum In festo omnium sanctorum dominj.*

²¹ These data are given in the colophon (p. 367 / f. 184^v): *finitur Psalterium Anno domini 1.5.3.9. per fratrem paulum de papa.*

Beatus vir qui nō abyt In consilio Inpiorum
ps. 1

Sodog ember ky begvetle
neknek tanachyaba nem
yareh/ ees ky byneseknek
wthaba nem alloch/ ees ky wegedel
mnek sekype nem wleth uuuuu
De w akaratya wznak eezwenyeebe
ees evel/ ees napal gondolkodyk w ne
ky eezwenyeebe uuuuu
Es lezen mykeppen solyo vyznek mel
lette ylteteh fa ky w ydeyen adya
w ymelcheth uuuuu
Es w leuele el nem hvol ees myn
deneketh kyketh eegen bewelchethnek
Nem wgy begvedlenek nem wgy dee
mykeenteh poor/ kyth feel el fweh fel
dnek synerel uuuuu
Azeth begvedlenek ytelethbe nem tamad
nak feel sem bynesek ygazaknak
tanachyaba uuuuu
Merth wv ygazaknak wtach megh yf
merthe ees begvedleneknek wtha el
nem weeg uuuuu

Beatus vir qui non Abſt in
conſilioꝝ pſalmus primus

Bedog ember kȳ kegyet
leneknek tanachyaba ne
m yarth ees kȳ byneſeknek wta
ba nem alloth ees kȳ wezedelmnek
ſekȳbe nem wleth.

Ew akaratȳa wrnak terwenye
be gondolkodyk w nekȳ terwenye
be eyel ees napal.

Es lezen mykewen folyo vȳznek me
lette yltetheth fa kȳ w ydeyebe ad
ya w gyemwlcheth.

Es w leuele el nem hwſ ees my
ndeneketh kȳketh tezen bewleth
nek.

Nem wgy kegyetlenek nem wgy
dee mykenth poor kȳth ſeel el
tweh ſeldnek ſynevel.

Azerth kegyetlenek ytelethbe nem
tamadnak ſeel ſem byneſek yga.



nasii occupies the corresponding place in the *Kulcsár Codex*. The *Codex of Keszthely* is somewhat longer than its counterpart, containing more *suffragia*, commemorations, and hymns, as well as the Seven Penitential Psalms at its end. The inclusion of all these elements suggests that both manuscripts were meant to be used in order to achieve a better understanding of the texts of the divine office recited in Latin by nuns and tertiaries who had only an elementary knowledge of Latin.

A significant number of Psalms figure in two prayer books compiled by Pauline monks for their aristocratic patroness, Benigna Magyar (c. 1465?–1526). She was the daughter and heiress of Balázs Magyar (?–1490), a renowned general of king Matthias Corvinus, and the wife of Pál Kinizsi (1431?–1494), an even more famous general and legendary warrior in the anti-Turkish wars. Husband and wife founded the Pauline monastery of Nagyvázsöny. As a token of their gratitude, the monks prepared two Hungarian-language codices for the lady.

The earlier of the two, the *Festetics Codex*,²² prepared between 1492 and 1494, is an expensive parchment codex with two richly decorated pages (one of them has the coats of arms of both husband and wife, see Fig. 8) and 11 coloured initials. The prayer book modelled on the book of hours contains *The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (with many Psalm translations), one of the usual components of this book type, the introduction of the Gospel of John, the Seven Penitential Psalms in Petrarch's rewriting, and some private prayers addressed to Mary. The second manuscript, the *Czech Codex*,²³ copied several years later by a Brother M., repeats some pieces from the earlier book. In addition, it contains the summer vespers from the *Saturday Office of the Virgin* (including five Psalms) and several new prayers. In these two collections the Psalms are the integral parts of a composition modelled on the collective liturgical practice but used mainly in private devotion.

Apart from complete Psalters and selections of individual Psalms, numerous Psalm verses have been included into the various Hungarian-language codices copied between the mid-15th century and the beginning of the 1540s. Translations of the Gospels, such as the already mentioned *Codex of Munich*,²⁴ copied in the Moldavian town of Târgu-Trotuș (Hung. *Tatros*) and preserving the New Testament part of the so-called *Hussite Bible*, or the *Jordánszky Codex*,²⁵ whose origin is still debated, bring some quotations from the Book of Psalms.

Psalm verses are also often built into the text of private prayers. One such prayer, the *Octo versus sancti Bernardi*, originating from the popular late medieval Latin prayer book *Hortulus animae*, has been constructed entirely from Psalm quotes. Its translations figure in three different Hungarian-language codices.²⁶ The spiritual power believed to be carried even by such individual verses of the Psalter is revealed by the miraculous story narrated in the introductory rubric of the prayer, as can be found in the version of the *Lobkowicz Codex*. According to this, the Devil appears to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, teasing him that he knows eight Psalm verses, which daily said would benefit one as much as the recitation of the entire Psalter. When he refuses to identify them, the saint constrains him to tell them by promising to recite all 150 Psalms daily unless the demon reveals the secret. The Satan defeated by this "threat" offers him this prayer.

The most numerous Psalm quotations are to be found among the arguments of treatises and sermons. Sermon collections such as the *Erdy Codex*,²⁷ compiled by an anonymous Carthusian monk for the use of nuns

Fig. 7. *Kulcsár Codex*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, MNY 16, f. 1.
© Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest.

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²² National Széchényi Library, shelfmark: MNY 73. Digital version: <http://nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu/sites/nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu/files/festetics.pdf> (Accessed on 20.10.2018). Edition: Abaffy 1996.

²³ Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, shelfmark: K42. Edition: Abaffy 1990.

²⁴ Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, shelfmark: Cod. Hung. 1. Digital copy: [http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0008/bsb00087531/images/](http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0008/bsb00087531/images/de/~db/0008/bsb00087531/images/) (Accessed on 30.10.2018.) Editions: Décsy, von Farkas 1958; Décsy 1966; Nyíri 1971.

²⁵ Esztergom Cathedral Library, shelfmark: MSS II.1. Facsimile edition: Lázcs 1984.

²⁶ *Lobkowicz Codex*, The Lobkowicz Collections, Prague, shelfmark: VI. Fg. 30. Edition: Reményi 1999, p. 346–350; *Peer Codex* (first quarter of the 16th century), National Széchényi Library, shelfmark: MNY 12. Edition: Kacsóvics-Reményi, Oszkó 2000, p. 181–184/f. 91^v–92^v; *Thewrewk Codex*, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, shelfmark: K 46. Edition: Balázs, Uhl 1995, p. 246–249 / f. 123^v–125^v.

²⁷ National Széchényi Library, shelfmark: MNY 9. Edition: Volf 1876.

and lay brothers, translate many verses from the Book of Psalms. The unknown Carthusian usually gave the Latin quotation before its Hungarian version since the Latin text would also have sounded familiar to his readers (or listeners, if the texts were read aloud during mealtime), who were in the daily habit of reciting the Psalms in Latin during the divine office. All these Psalm verses inserted into various texts were habitually translated together with their immediate context, and not taken over from extant translations.

The partial or complete Hungarian Psalm translations preserved in different 15th and 16th century codices were prepared for the purposes of private study or devotions. However, they were closely connected to the liturgy, as the ultimate aim of their perusal was to obtain a better understanding of this biblical book of paramount importance in the communal liturgical practice. As the Psalms were read and recited daily by the members of religious orders and even by some lay people, and as they were translated and explained orally in vernacular sermons as well, this relative abundance of such translations is natural when compared to other Hungarian-language texts in this corpus.

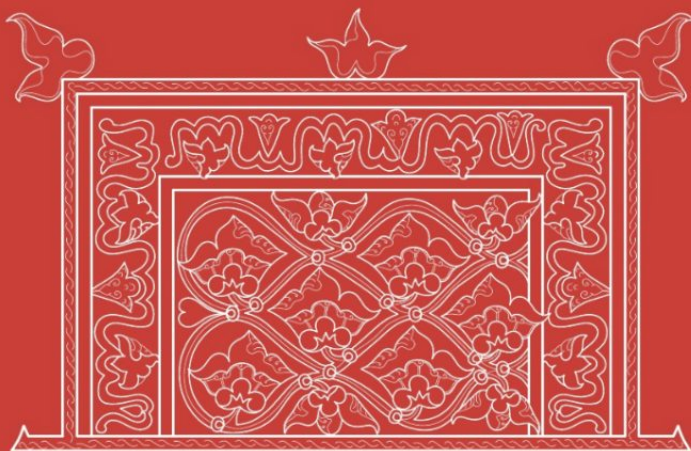
► Fig. 8. *Festetics Codex*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Mny 73, f. 2^r.
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In the Romanian lands, the delay in the translation of the Bible had multiple causes. Possibly, the proximity with the Catholic world – where the translation of the Bible was a very delicate subject – may have played an important role. The Western translations gained traction only with the onset of the Reformation, in direct opposition with the Roman Catholic Church. For the Romanians, the Western model made it so that Slavonic became a language similar to what Latin was for the Western world, thus following the template of Western languages in which the translations of the Bible were only timid attempts.

V.A.



The first Romanian versions of the Psalms are shrouded in mystery. They present a now extinct phonetic trait: an intervocalic /n/ pronounced as /r/ (rhotacism). Older hypotheses localised it to the Northern part of the country. However, recent research considers that the origins should be traced to the Banat and Hunedoara regions. It is assumed that the originals of the rhotic translations date back to the 15th century, although only copies from the following century still exist: the Hurmuzaki Psalter (1491-1516?), the Voroneț Monastery Psalter (1551-1558?) and the Scheian Psalter, copied in a place close to Brașov (1573-1678?). The rhotic psalters were probably translated after a Slavonic Psalter of a Serbian variety; however, the presence of Latin origin words (that can be justified by St. Jerome's text) make it so that their origin is subject to debate. Coresi drew on these old Romanian translations when he was preparing to print his own Psalter in 1570. This was during the Renaissance, when foreign models were no longer rare commodities. Coresi's translation was published at the initiative of the Romanian reformed bishop Paul Tordași, under the patronage of Hans Benkner, a judge from the Transylvanian town of Brașov.

I.C., V.A.

- *The prophet David plays a musical instrument in the exterior mural paintings of the Voroneț Monastery church.*

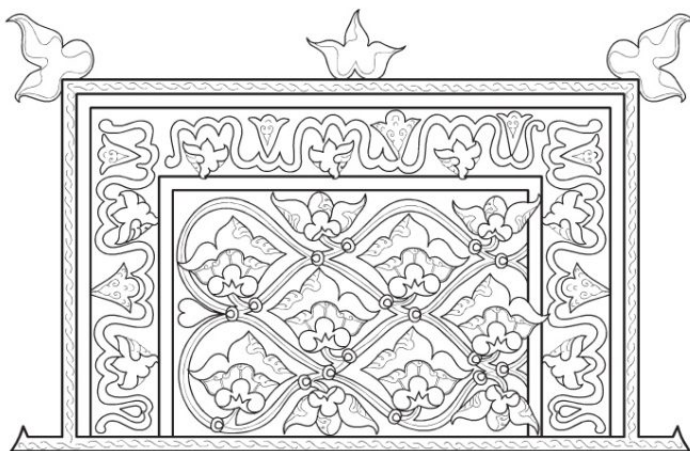
© Vladimir Agrigoroaei.





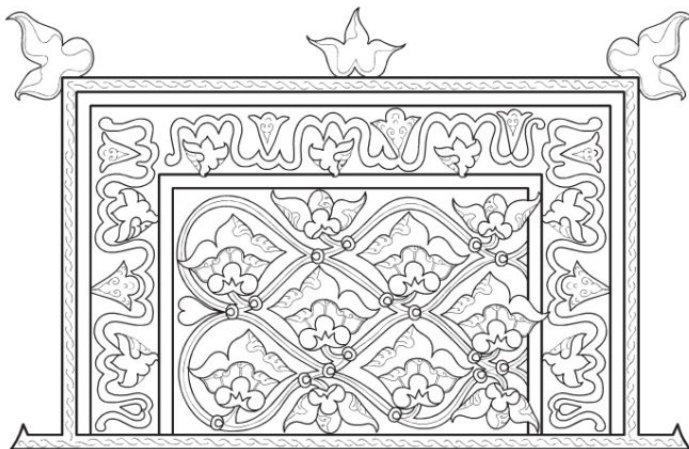
Much controversy remains, to this day, around the translation and dissemination of the Psalter in Romanian. The date where it was translated is still unknown, but it was before 1521 (earliest dated text in Romanian). There are many versions of the Psalter – all reviewed to some extent or other after Slavonic texts and possibly Latin. The 16th century versions are either mono- or bilingual (Slavonic-Romanian), leading to the hypothesis that these Psalters might have had didactic purpose. The Psalms are divided into *kathismata*, according to the Eastern Orthodox monastic tradition. The language strata of the surviving copies did not adequately pinpoint the translation avatar, some better-known hypotheses indicating Banat-Hunedoara, Maramureş, or Moldavia as its point of origin. The context surrounding this translation and its dissemination is also unknown; research opinions differ, attributing this endeavour to any of Hussites, Catholics, Protestants or Eastern Orthodox. The 16th century versions enjoyed a widespread dissemination in the Romanian lands, connecting with those of the 17th century.

I.C.



Psalm 150 in the Scheian Psalter:

Lăudați Dzeu în sfinții Lui,
lăudați El întru învărtoșarea sileei Lui.
Lăudați El în silele Lui,
lăudați El după prea-multă mărirea silelor Lui.
Lăudați El în glas de bucuru,
lăudați El în psaltiri și ceateri.
Lăudați El în tămpăne și zborure,
lăudați El în strune și organe.
Lăudați El în clopote bure glasure,
lăudați El în clopotu cu strigare.
Toată dihania se laude Domnul.



Psalm 150 in the Hurmuzaki Psalter:

Lăudați Dumnedzeu în sfinții Lui,
lăudați-L în tăria puterii Lui.
Lăudați-Lu pre putearea Lui,
lăudați-L după prea mulția măriei Lui.
Lăudați-L în glas de bucinre,
lăudați-L în cântări și în ceteră;
Lăudați-L în timpâne cetele,
lăudați-L în strune și orgoane.
Lăudați-L în clopote cele cu bunre glasure,
lăudați-L în clopotele strigăriei.
Toată dihania se laude Domnul.

The Sources of the Oldest Romanian Versions of the Psalter

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The 16th century Romanian Psalters are among the oldest “monuments” of Romanian language. According to paper dating, one of these Psalters is actually the oldest text written in Romanian. The Psalms were translated from Old Church Slavonic, the fact that these texts contain many words of Latin origin suggested that a Latin source may have also been used in the translation or revision processes. It is thus essential to discuss these sources and to verify if both Slavonic and Latin sources were used.

Four manuscript Psalters (**PH**, **PCb**, **PS**, **PV**) and four printed ones (**PC**, **PC1**, **PC2**, **PI** – a single fragment was preserved from the last one) date back to the 16th century. Nothing is known about the now lost Săulescu Psalter. In addition to these eight Psalters, there are several isolated Psalms preserved in 16th century miscellany manuscripts. All these Psalters are monolingual (**PS**, **PH**, **PC**) or bilingual (**PV**, **PC1**, **PC2**, **PI**, **PCb**) – with an accompanying Slavonic version. Three of them, namely **PS**, **PH**, and **PV**, have particularly piqued the interest of researchers, as they belong to the category of the so-called “rhotacising texts”, due to the presence of the rhotacism phenomenon.¹

The one hundred and fifty Psalms and the non-canonical Psalm 151 are grouped, according to the Orthodox typikon, into twenty *kathismata*, each *kathisma* having three *staseis*. The Psalms are followed by ten biblical songs (the Old Testament canticles). The *Scheian Psalter* includes an additional *Athanasian Creed* containing the *Filioque*, which led Ion Gheție and Alexandru Mareș to the conclusion that this text must have been added later.²

As proven by Al. Mareș, all the 16th century Romanian Psalters derive from a common translation carried out at an unknown time.³ Their stemma is difficult to determine due to the numerous intermediary copies and revisions made over time. Of all the versions, the one that stands out is the *Hurmuzaki Psalter*, because it underwent a thorough revision at some point.

Al. Mareș resumed the discussion regarding the dating of the *Hurmu-*

Abbreviations

PC = *Coresi, Psalter*, Brașov, 1570;

PCb = *Ciobanu Psalter* (Rom. Manuscript no. 3465, Romanian Academy Library);

PC1 = *Coresi, Slavonic-Romanian Psalter*, 1577;

PC2 = *Coresi, Slavonic-Romanian Psalter*, 1589;

PH = *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (Rom. Manuscript no. 3077, Romanian Academy Library);

PI = *Iorga Psalter* (a bilingual Psalter, 1576-1578, cf. Gheție/Mareș 1985, 305);

PS = *Scheian Psalter* (Rom. Manuscript no. 449, Romanian Academy Library);

PV = *Psalter from Voroneț* (Rom. Manuscript no. 693, Romanian Academy Library).

Notes

¹ Rhotacism is a phonetic phenomenon, the conversion of the intervocalic /n/ into /r/ in Romanian words of Latin origin.

² Gheție 1973; Mareș 2010.

³ Mareș 1982b.

zaki Psalter after a new examination of the watermarks present in the texts of the time.⁴ He identified two watermarks in this manuscript: a ship and an anchor. Based on this discovery, he considered that the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* manuscript must have been produced before 1516, without excluding the possibility of it dating back to the 15th century. This lack of precision is due to the fact that it was not possible to identify the exact variant of the two watermarks in the archives kept in northern Italy. The author concluded: "Such an early dating as the one we suppose requires a new approach to the old age of translations in Romanian and to the cultural-religious initiatives that determined their emergence".⁵ If the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* were a copy dating back prior to 1516, the primitive Romanian translation (from which all the 16th century Romanian versions derive) would date back to the beginning of the century or even earlier.

The Old Church Slavonic source of the Romanian Psalters.

In the very first studies of the Old Romanian Psalters, it was assumed that the source of their translation was Old Church Slavonic. The contrary cannot be true, since the text copiously uses loans and calques from Old Church Slavonic, the names are Slavonic, and the sentence structure often follows the Slavonic model as well. The first scholar who tried to identify the Slavonic original was Ion Aurel Candrea, who argued that the source was a version close to Branko Mladenović's 1346 *Serbian Psalter* (Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Slavonic Ms. no. 205), but without any evidence to support his assumption.⁶ Various other opinions expressed since then were assessed by Al. Mareş, for whom the only positive result of the previous studies is the verification that the translation was made from Slavonic.⁷

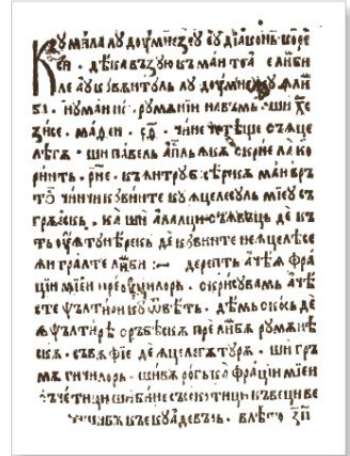
But what is the real filiation between the Romanian and the Slavonic versions? When answering Gheorghe Mihăilă, according to whom there should have been a perfect correspondence between the two texts, Al. Mareş examined the Old Church Slavonic versions of **PV**, **Pcb**, **PC** and **PC2**, he compared them to the Romanian ones, and argued (based on textual evidence) that the Romanian text could not rely on the Slavonic type present in the four bilingual Psalters.⁸ Resuming the hypothesis of I.-A. Candrea, Al. Mareş tried to show that *Mladenović's Psalter* is different from the other Slavonic versions kept at the Romanian Academy Library and that it belongs to the manuscripts of the new Slavonic redaction.⁹ This "new redaction" has also undergone some changes over time. Between *Branko Mladenović's Psalter* and the Romanian texts there is a significant number of differences, which means that the Romanian prototype cannot be linked directly to this Psalter. According to Al. Mareş, there may be two hypotheses: (1) the Romanian prototype could have been translated from a version of the *Mladenović Psalter*; (2) the Romanian prototype resulted from a *Mladenović* version, and, when preparing the bilingual Romanian version, the text was revised by comparing it to the adjoining Slavonic version. This second hypothesis may explain why it is impossible to identify a Slavonic Psalter that brings together all the particularities present in the Old Romanian texts. According to the same researcher, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* would be a secondary version of the Romanian prototype relying on a much older Slavonic version, different from the *Mladenović* type.

The merit of Al. Mareş' work is that he proved the relation of the Romanian Psalters with the Slavonic type represented by Branko Mladenović.

4 *Hurmuzaki Psalter*, f. 97^v.
ms. Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Rom. 3077.

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5 *Coresi's Slavonic-Romanian Psalter of 1577*, last page of the printed book. Drawing after an online facsimile available at <https://tiparituriromanesti.wordpress.com>



Notes

4 Mareş 2000.

5 Mareş 2000, p. 683.

6 Candrea 1916, p. 112.

7 Mareş 1982a.

8 Mareş 1982a, p. 202-203.

9 Mareş 1982a, p. 202. The "new Slavonic redaction" is the revision of the Slavonic Psalter carried out at the beginning of the 14th century.

- *Scheian Psalter*, f. 14.
ms. Bucharest, Romanian Academy
Library, Rom. 449.
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Fondul de manuscrise.

novi's 1346 Psalter and the absence of any relations between the Romanian versions and the Old Church Slavonic ones in the bilingual manuscripts. Over the past few years, Catherine MacRobert has thoroughly studied the origin of the Slavonic Psalters, which now facilitates the study of the source of the oldest Romanian Psalters.¹⁰ As regards the revision of the Romanian versions, the discussions excluded the Latin sources hypothesis, which could have unpredictable consequences for the study of the texts' origin and filiation.

The Latin source.

The hypothesis of a Latin source for the Old Romanian Psalters is relatively recent. However, it should be pointed out that I.-A. Candrea compared the Romanian text with the *Psalterium Romanum*, especially with regards to the verses where the Romanian translation is no longer literal (word for word), without however issuing any theories on the relations between the Romanian and Latin Psalters.¹¹

Ion C. Chițimia put forth the hypothesis of a Latin source for the translation of the Psalter into Romanian.¹² He considered that the primitive translation of the Psalms (the version underlying the translations preserved to date) relied on an older translation from Latin – due to the presence of Catholicism and due to its missionary actions. In his opinion, this first translation from Latin, carried out before the arrival of the Slavonic cultural influences in the Romanian lands, must have been then revised based on a Slavonic text. He argued that:

(a) a series of Latin words were preserved only in the three rhotacising versions of the Psalter (and especially in the *Scheian Psalter*): *mesereare* 'compassion'; *pănătare* / *părătare* 'suffering'; *păraș* 'the top of the mouth'; (a) *vence* / *vânce*, *învence*, *prevence* 'to defeat, to beat'; *a deșidera* 'to desire'; and *a deșinde* 'to descend'. As these words were rare, he considered them "lexical relics", kept from the old translation of the Psalter from Latin, which may have been later replaced by equivalents of Slavonic origin or by terms with a wider circulation or a more stable position in the Romanian language system;

(b) the comparison between the *Scheian Psalter* (which has, from a lexical point of view, the most markedly Latin appearance) and the Vulgate reveals lexical coincidences. Eugen Munteanu calls this phenomenon "etymological attraction": out of all possible choices, the translator chooses the word that is etymologically close to the original, something that may only be explained by the use of a Latin source.¹³

Ion Gheție also assessed I. C. Chițimia's arguments, subjecting them to a thorough methodological examination.¹⁴ In his opinion, the rare use of a word in these texts cannot be taken for proof of its antiquity. These words may as well originate in the language of translators or copyists. In fact, some of the words in I. C. Chițimia's list of "relics" were still circulating in isolated areas in the 19th century, while others were present in texts dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries. Regarding *a deșinde*, this is not a rare word. Its many attestations show that it was usual at the time.¹⁵ Relying on a list of Latin terms characteristic to the 16th century by Ovid Densusianu,¹⁶ I. Gheție identified six words that occur exclusively in the *Scheian Psalter*: *a deșidera*; *mărit* 'married man, husband' from Lat. *maritus*; *păraș*; *a scura* 'to purify', from Lat. *excurare*; *a spărți* 'to separate' from **expartire*; and *temoare* 'fear' from Lat. *timor*. The presence of these other words may be explained in two ways: (1) unlike the other two rho-

Notes

¹⁰ See e.g. MacRobert 1998.

¹¹ Candrea 1916.

¹² Chițimia 1981.

¹³ Munteanu 2008, p. 83.

¹⁴ Gheție 1982a.

¹⁵ See for this Densusianu 1938, p. 195. Munteanu 2008 talks about it not as a "lexical relic", but as a translation option due to etymological attraction.

¹⁶ Densusianu 1938, p. 492-502.

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40

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XXXVII

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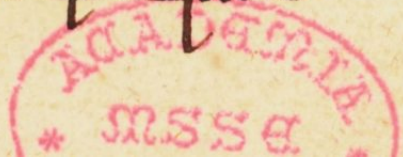
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4

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tacising Psalters, the *Scheian Psalter* may have preserved a larger number of old Latin terms from the first translation by chance. Or (2) the *Scheian Psalter* may be the avatar of a text that underwent massive "Latinization" (i.e. a Latin-based revision). As for I. C. Chițimia's other argument – the lexical coincidences with the Latin Vulgate – I. Gheție showed that their number is small and that the comparison must be made with versions of the Vulgate prior to 1500.

Although I. Gheție's tone was rather vehement, he rejected I. C. Chițimia's reasoning and not the hypothesis of the use of a Latin source in the translation of the Psalters into Romanian. He believed that a Latin source could still have been possibly used only in one of the revisions underlying the *Scheian Psalter*, and he noticed that the only way to demonstrate the use of a Latin source is to undertake an entire comparative study of the Romanian texts with the Slavonic and Latin sources, scrupulously taking into account the variants of the Slavonic and Latin versions.

The discussion was later on resumed by E. Munteanu, who considered that although I. C. Chițimia's reasoning was unsatisfactory, and the idea that the source of the first translation was Latin could not be acceptable, the hypothesis of the use of a Latin text at a certain stage in the process of elaborating the first versions of the Psalter was very likely,¹⁷ if not absolutely certain.¹⁸ This had to be linked with the influence of Catholicism and Calvinism in the Romanian communities of the Banat and Hunedoara region.¹⁹ E. Munteanu mainly discusses the *Scheian Psalter*, but the pieces of evidence supporting his idea are: (1) a series of phrastic sequences that do not correspond to the Slavonic text (E. Munteanu takes as reference text the intralinear Slavonic version of **PC1**), but to the Latin *Romanum* one;²⁰ (2) the so-called "etymological attraction": *lângoare* for Lat. *languor* (equivalents in other Psalters: *boală* [illness] in **PC2**, *neputere* [lack of power/ strength] in **PH**); *strat* [layer] for Lat. *stratum* (așternut in **PH**); (3) the verbs *deșidera* (and the noun *deșiderat*) 'to desire' and *a deșinde* 'to descend', which I. C. Chițimia considered a reminiscence from an old translation of the Psalter into Romanian. They are also discussed by E. Munteanu in order to illustrate the phenomenon of "etymological attraction". This means that the translator or reviser of the Psalter translation used them, probably under the influence of the Latin source, in order to render the Lat. *desiderare* (and *desiderium*), respectively *descendere*, although the Old Romanian language also offered other possibilities, which can be actually found in later versions of the Psalters (*a jelui* / *jelanie*, *jale*, *a pohti* / *pohtă*, respectively *a pogori*). E. Munteanu therefore discusses the hypothesis of a Latin source as being noteworthy. His reasoning is relevant in the same sense of assuming the existence of a Latin source, and it necessarily needs to be resumed and reinforced by a complete comparison of the texts.

Last but not least, Eugen Pavel also tackled the issue by presenting the arguments of his predecessors²¹ without bringing forth new facts, and concluded that the problem is far from being solved.

Some basic facts.

The comparison of the Slavonic, Latin and Romanian versions may however lead to some results. In our comparison of the Old Romanian Psalters with the Latin text, we relied on *Psalterium Gallicanum* and *Psalterium Romanum*, just as Eugen Munteanu did.²²

Research has yielded enough evidence to support that the Psalters are not independent translations, but that they indirectly derive from the same

- ◀ *Psalter from Voroneț*, f. 14^r.
ms. Bucharest, Romanian Academy
Library, Rom. 693.
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Notes

¹⁷ Munteanu 2008, p. 143.

¹⁸ Munteanu 2008, p. 130.

¹⁹ Munteanu 2008, p. 144.

²⁰ *Psalterium Romanum*, critical edition of 1953: *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*.

²¹ Pavel 2013. As regards Munteanu's reasoning, Pavel 2013, p. 27 showed that sometimes the Romanian version resembles more the *Psalterium Gallicanum* than the *Psalterium Romanum*.

²² It should be noted that Ion Gheție and Alexandru Mareș relied on the Vulgate; admitting that many differences between the Latin text and the Romanian ones are due to the differences between the versions of the Vulgate, Gheție 1982a, p. 184 stated that the comparison must rely on the versions published prior to 1500. Candrea 1916, without explicitly stating it, compared the Romanian text with *Psalterium Gallicanum* whenever he encountered translations that did not follow the Slavonic text, but without factoring in the existence of a Latin source.

'primitive' translation. Common translation mistakes, common omissions, and particular translations of all versions were put forth as cases in point.

When writing about the origin of the Psalters, Al. Mareş took into account the common language elements in all texts.²³ Some of them proved the existence of a common Slavonic source, which meant that the Romanian prototype could have been translated from Old Church Slavonic. Such an element is the presence of the same translation errors in all the versions. For instance, in Ps 77:67-68, *КОЛѢНО* '1. knee 2. tribe, people' (Miklošič 1862-1865, s.v.) (lat. *tribus*, gr. *φυλή*) is translated in all versions by *genunche* 'knee'. Al. Mareş showed that this resulted from the automatic equation of meaning 1, without realizing that the contextual meaning was 'people'.

According to I.-A. Candrea, the translator did not master Old Church Slavonic very well, committing "serious errors distorting the meaning of the text in many places".²⁴ We analysed his examples, hoping to find clues regarding the source of the translation. Clear evidence of the Slavonic origin is found in Ps 104:32 of the *Scheian Psalter* and the *Coresi Psalter of 1570*, which contain the term *cetate* 'fortress'. The Latin text uses *grando* 'hail', and the Slavonic one contains the term *градъ*. According to I.-A. Candrea, the translator mixed up two homonyms, one meaning 'hail', the other 'fortress'. The text of the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* distinguishes itself from the one in the other Psalters by the fact that it translates correctly using the word *grindină* 'hail'.

Moreover, in Ps 108:23, where the source text uses *ἀκρίδες*, *locusta*, the Romanian Psalters render it through *mlădițe* (*РН*) or *nuiale* (*PS*, *PC*, *PCB*), both words meaning 'sprouts'. I.-A. Candrea assumed that one must be dealing with a misinterpretation of *пржжикъ* 'locusts' as *пржитикъ* 'sprouts', but he pointed out that the same equivalence may be found in Coresi's Gospel translation of 1560-1561.²⁵ In fact, this "paronymic attraction" explanation is not necessary. The Old Church Slavonic version copied in the bilingual Psalters (*PCB*, *PC*) uses the form *врѣшїе* 'sprout'. Knowing that the Romanian philologists have proven that the Old Romanian bilingual Psalters are not related to the Slavonic versions copied in the same manuscripts, one should take into account an argument used by C. MacRobert. She revealed the existence of a number of East Slavic and South Slavic manuscripts in which this verse appears to be translated by *prōtīnyi konīci*; *prutniku* 'tips of shoots; shoots', explaining these translation choices through the influence of the New Testament verses depicting John the Baptist's vegetarian diet.²⁶ However, other translation choices remain unexplained: Ps 10: 6 *жопелъ* 'brimstone' (Gr. *θεῖον*, Lat. *sulphur*) is translated by *văpaie* 'blaze'.

A long ignored question also refers to the source of the *Hurmuzaki Psalter's* revision. It is certain that this Psalter derives from a primitive Romanian translation. The differences between the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* and the other Psalters are explained by Al. Mareş through a consistent revision of this version's text. It is however difficult to identify the source of the revision. In Ps 21:23, the singular genitive *leului* 'of the lion' is explained through a different Old Church Slavonic redaction, where the same singular occurs.²⁷ However, the singular occurs both in the Greek and in the Latin Psalters. The same situation appears in Ps 133:1, where the singular *curtea* 'yard' resembles both the Slavonic *vŭ dvorě* occurring in the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* and *Psalterium Vindobonense*, and the Latin *in*

Notes

²³ Mareş 1982b.

²⁴ Candrea 1916, p. 110.

²⁵ Candrea 1916, p. 112; opinion shared by Mareş 1982b, p. 216.

²⁶ MacRobert 2007, p. 427.

²⁷ Mareş 1982, p. 221.

domo, unlike the other Romanian and Slavonic versions containing the plural.

Al. Mareş found another important clue in the Slavonic versions' title of Ps 110, where one may find the title *Alliluia*, while the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* has *Lăudăm Domnulu cel viu*.²⁸ According to Al. Mareş, this is due to the use of another Old Church Slavonic version, in which the interjection *Alliluia* is followed by its translation, as it appears in the *Psalterium Vindobonense*: *Alliluië se tl'kuet se ubo hv(a)la živomu B(og)u 'Hallelujah*, which means 'Glory to the Lord'. Relying on the filiation of the Slavonic Psalters provided by C. MacRobert, it is nonetheless worth noting that the *Psalterium Vindobonense* and the 1346 Branko Mladenović version derive from the same primitive Slavonic translation known as the *Pseudo-Athanasian Commentary*.²⁹ Before accepting that the Romanian translation and / or revision derives from this Slavonic redaction, it is thus necessary to compare the texts.

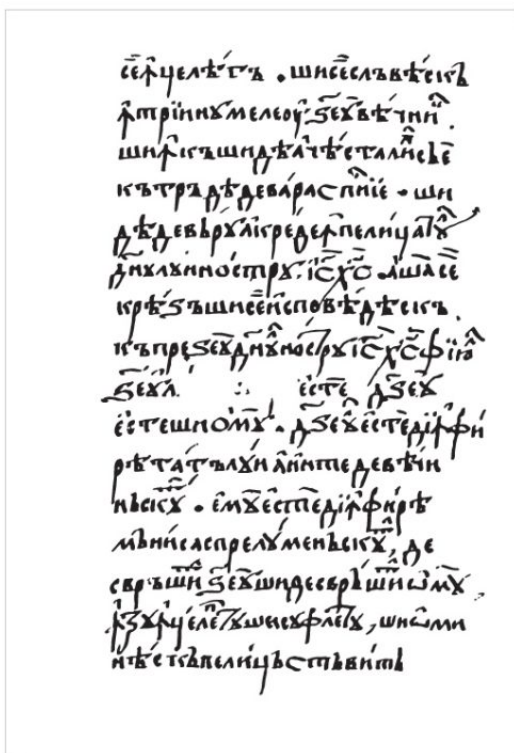
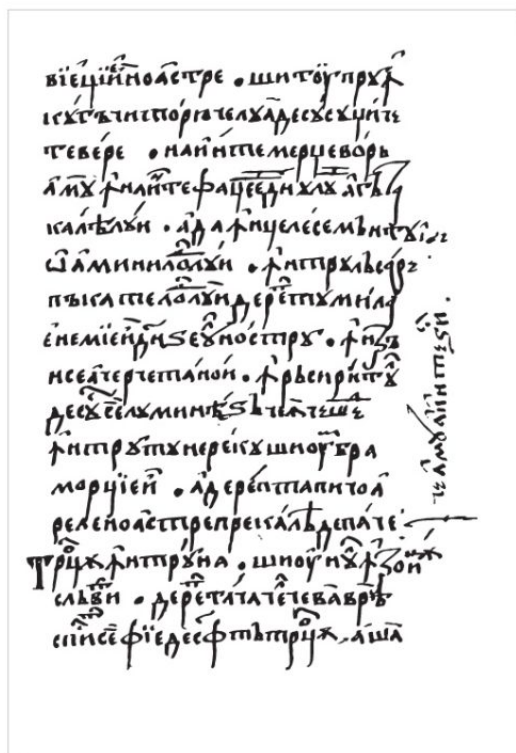
The current state of research allows only the conclusion that there is little certainty regarding the origin of the Old Romanian Psalters. However, a hundred years after Ion Aurel Candrea's statement that the issue of the Psalters' origin is insurmountable, we believe that the identification of the sources is no longer impossible, given the tools currently available. It may be argued that the primitive translation of the Psalter was carried out prior to Luther's Reformation. It may also be argued that the translation is rooted in a Slavonic version. The presence of a Latin version on the translator's or reviser's table may, nevertheless, also be admitted.

Notes

²⁸ Mareş 1982b, p. 222.

²⁹ MacRobert 2007, p. 928.

▼ The beginning of the Athanasian Creed in the *Scheian Psalter*, p. 525-526, ms. Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Rom. 449. Drawing after the facsimile published by Bianu 1889.



9
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дѣскѹлѹторїи спрѣ мѹиен рѹдїи
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бѹвѣи мѹ • дерѣпѹтъ аѹтѹ мѹспо
ведескѹмѹ ѹїе ѹнтрѹ лїи мѹи до
ѹмнѣ • Ѹи поѹмѣе тѹѹ кѹиѹтъ •
мѹрѣскѹ спѹсѣнїѹ ѹпѹратѹлѹи •
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пѹмѹиѹтѹлѹ ѣѸи спѹсѣ

Coresi

Psaltirea românească The Romanian Psalter

[Braşov, 1570]

Biblioteca Centrală
Universitară „Lucian Blaga”,
Cluj-Napoca

Psaltirea românească Cu mila lu Dumnezeu eu diaconu Coresi, deca văzui că mai toate limbile au cuvântulu lu Dumnezeu în limba lor, numai noi Rumânii n-avămu, şi H[risto]s zise, Mathei 109, cine ceteşte să înţeleghă, şi Pavelu ap[o]s[to]lu încă scrie la Corintu, 155, că întru beserecă mai vrătosu cinci cuvinte cu înţelesulu meu să grădescu ca şi alaltî să învăţu, de cătu untunerecu de cuvinte neînţelese într-alte limbi. Începutu-s-eau a se scrie aceste sfinte psaltiri în luna lu[i] februarie, 6 dzile şi se-au sfă[r]sit în luna lu[i] mai 26 dzile în cetate în Braşov văleato 7078 [1570]

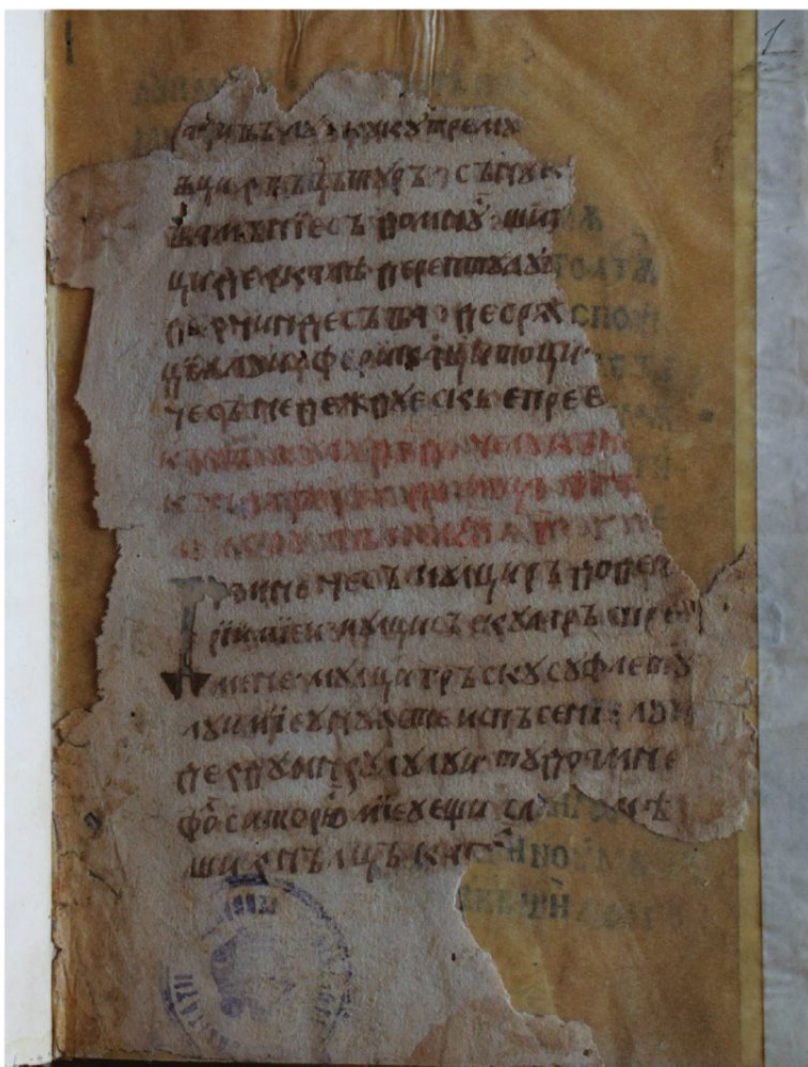
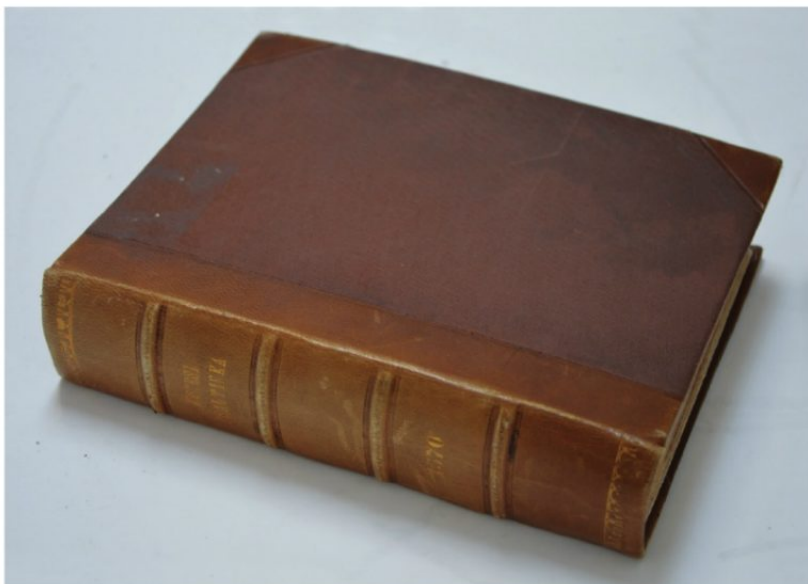
Cota BRV 16.

BRV, I, 16; BRV, IV, 16; RMNY, I, 275; Borsa 1996, p. 185, p. 200-201; BRVAC, 114.

Mosora, Hanga 1991, p. 1-2.

[179] p., the first page is manuscript. Quires 1-2 and 4 are missing, as is page 4 from quires 3, 11 and 21. Binding errors: at the end of quire 46 follows the last page of quire 48, then 2 other pages; then follows the first page of quire 47, the last page of quire 50, 2 other pages, the first page of quire 51 and one other page.

In quarto (19,3 x 14,5 cm), black and red typeface in Cyrillic script, single block of text of 18 lines per



page. The only decoration consists of initials.

The recent binding is made in cloth over cardboard; the spine and cover corners are bound in leather. The spine features gilded floral elements, the name of the printer, the title of the volume, and the year of the print.

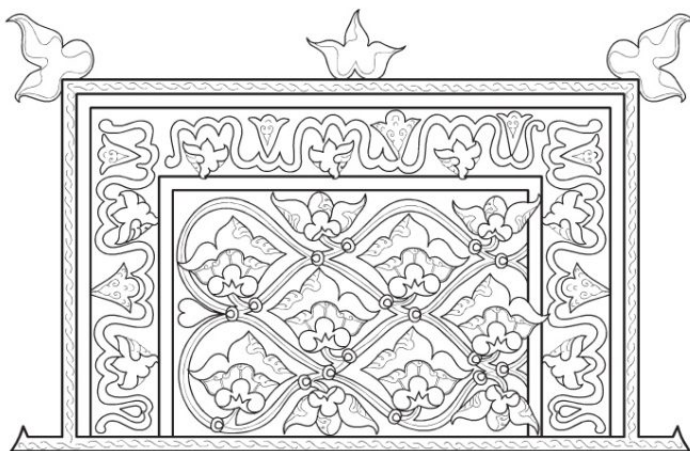
The overall conservation state is good, some wear marks, humidity stains, paper additions in guise of repair, and traces of woodworm bore holes are present.

Annotations: A stamp bearing the text *Biblioteca Universității Cernăuți* is present on several pages. On the first flyleaf, the manuscript text: *Psaltirea românească a diaconului Coressi Brașov 1570 Bianu-Hodoș I, pag. 54, No. 16. Se găsește și la București Bibl. Academiei Române*. On the same flyleaf, in another hand: *Nu! Este printre puținele cărți neînțoarse de la Moscova. 5. II. 1938. Dan Simonescu*.

On the last flyleaf: *Librăria*

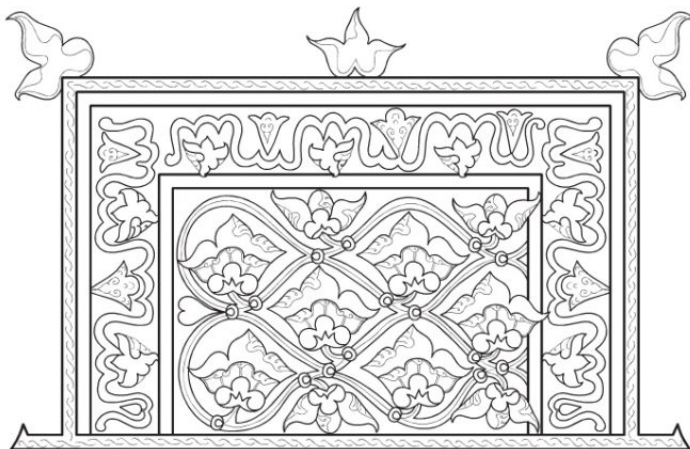
„Ardealul” Cluj prin „Ostașul Român” Cernăuți cu legătura lei 27.942. On p. [49^v]: *Cetitoriu socoteaș[e] fiul mumei tale iaste totu creștinul ca să mu [sic!] născut de intr-una maică a noastră sf[an]ta besearică deci să nu-i dosădim frații noștri*. P. [74^v]: *Pop [?] când H[risto]s vin[i] în lume ca și vițelul când naște dă-și arată [?] coarne și unghii*. P. [91]: *Eu Erași*. P. 93: *Învăță meșteșug la tinerete să-ți fie de treabă la bătrânețe zice Pavel apostolul*. P. [147^v]: *Scris-am eu Popa Pătru [?]*.





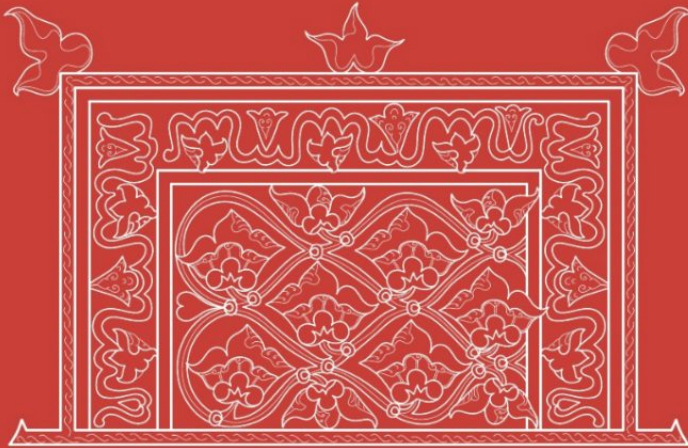
Psalm 150 in the Coresi Psalter of 1570 (ed. Toma 1976):

Lăudați Zeul în sfinții Lui,
lăudați El într-o învârtărire de silee Lui.
Lăudați El în silele Lui,
lăudați El după prea multă mărirea silei Lui.
Lăudați El în glas de bucină,
lăudați El în psăltiri și ceateri.
Lăudați El în tâmpâne și zborure,
lăudați El în strune și organe.
Lăudați El în clopote bune glasuri,
lăudați El în clopot cu strigare.
Toată dihania să laude Domnul.



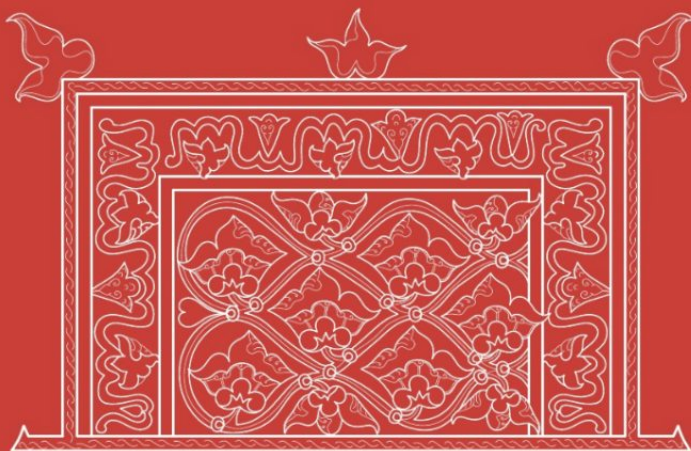
Psalm 150 in the Coresi Psalter of 1577 (ed. Toma 1976):

Lăudați Zeul în sfinții lui,
lăudați el într-o învîrtoșare de silee lui.
Lăudați el în silele lui,
lăudați el după prea multă mărirea sileei lui.
Lăudați el în glas de bucinu,
lăudați el în psăltiri și ceateari.
Lăudați el în timpâne și zborure,
lăudați el în strune și organe.
Lăudați el în clopote bune glasuri,
lăudați el în clopot cu strigare.
Toată dihania să laude Domnul.



In a translation from 1577, Coresi touches on the subject of translation using the same argument Luther made: “By the grace of God, I, the deacon Coresi, as I have seen that all tongues have the word of God in their tongues, all but us Romanians; and God said, Matthew 99: ‘Whoever reads, understands’; and Paul the apostle again writes unto Corinthians 155: ‘Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might teach others also, than a large quantity of words in an unknown tongue’ ” – adding its didactic purpose: “Therefore, brethren priests, I have written these psalters with ‘answers’, as I have drawn on the Serbian Psalter to get the Romanian one, to be of use and learning to copyists. And please read well and reckon well, as you will see for yourselves this is the truth”.

A.D., V.A.



From 1640 until the end of the 17th century, the Transylvanian Orthodox Church was once again under the sway of Protestantism. All the bishops had to subscribe to a reformation program when receiving their offices. This program converted the Romanian Church into a Romanian vicarage of the Hungarian Reformed Church. All the decisions taken by the Metropolitan bishop and his synod were subject to the approval of the Calvinist superintendent. New schools had to be established, new liturgical books had to be translated and printed, the service and the preaching were in Romanian, superstitions had to be abolished, and decisions were to be made on a territorial level, through the General Synod of the Protopopes, to be convened annually.

A.D.

Psaltire **Psalter**

Alba Iulia [Bălgrad], 1651

Muzeul Național al Unirii
Alba Iulia



*Psaltirea ce să zice cântarea ferici-
tului proroc și împărat David. Cu
cântările lui Moisi și cu summa și
rânduiala la toți psalomii. Izvodită
cu mare socotință, den izvod
jidovesc pre limbă rumânească.
Cu agiutoriu lui Dumnezeu, și cu
îndemnarea și porunca, dempreună
cu toată cheltuiala a mării sale
Gheorghe Rakoți, craiul Ardealului
i prociaia. Tipăritu-s-au întru a
mării sale tipografie dentăiu noao,
în Ardeal în cetatea Belgradului.
Vă leato 7159 a ot rjdestva Hva.
1651 dekem. 25 dnă.*

Cota: CVR 346.

BRV, I, 60; RMK, II, 752; Veress
1932, p. 168; Buicliu 2000, p. 174;
BRVAC, 126; Mărza 1998, p. 46-49;
Psaltirea 2001;

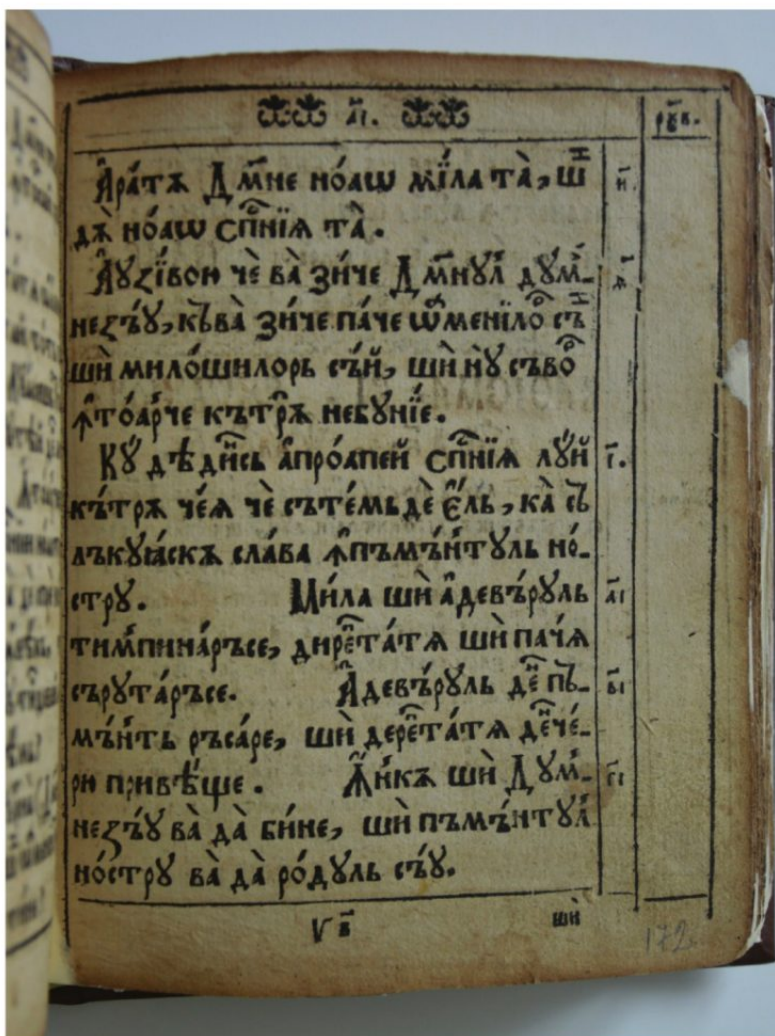
Lupan, Hațegan 1974, p. 363;
Mărza, Dreghiciu 1989, p. 111;
Dumitran 2010b, p. 294; Bogdan
2017, p. 78-79.

[10] p. + 219 p., p. [8] and p. 220-
300 are missing.

In quarto (18,5 x 14,5 cm), black
and red typeface, Cyrillic script
in three case sizes. The text is
framed by a linear edge. It has
typographical decorations such as
initials, vignettes, frontispieces,
and engravings.

The volume is now bound in
leather over cardboard, and the
conservation state is excellent, a
result of recent restoration work.

Annotations: P. 121: *Melenti non
unitorum*. F. 165: *Todoran din
Bălgrad*.





Psaltire Psalter

Alba Iulia [Bălgrad], 1651

Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă
a Alba Iuliei



Psaltirea ce să zice cântarea fericitului proroc și împărat David. Cu cântările lui Moisi și cu summa și rânduiala la toți psalomii. Izvodită cu mare socotință, den izvod jidovesc pre limbă rumânească. Cu agiutoriul lui Dumnezeu, și cu îndemnarea și porunca, dempreună cu toată cheltuiala a mării sale Gheorghe Rakoți, craiul Ardealului i prociaia. Tipăritu-s-au întru a mării sale tipografie dentăiu noao, în Ardeal în cetatea Belgradului. Vă leato 7159 a ot rjestva Hva. 1651 dekem. 25 dnă.

Inv. 2441.

Mihu 1987, p. 83; Mihu 2000, p. 263-264; Bogdan, Mihu 2008, p. 16-17; Mihu, Bogdan 2009, p. 24-25; Bogdan 2010, p. 85-86; Dumitran 2010, p. 294.

[18] p. + p. 2-239, 241, 246-299 + [2] p., p. 1, 240, 242-245, 300 are missing.

In quarto (18,5 x 14,5 cm), black and red typeface, Cyrillic script in three case sizes. The text is framed by a linear edge. It has typographical decorations such as initials, vignettes, frontispieces, and engravings.

The volume is bound in leather over cardboard, and the covers are

decorated with floral and geometrical patterns applied as a frame, complete with medallions, geometrical patterns, and religious illustrations: a blessing Christ and the Crucifixion. Traces of clasps are visible.

The overall conservation state is relatively good, some wear, wood-worm bore holes, frayed edges, and the front cover is partially detached from the book block.

Annotations: P. 40^v: *Au tunat și au fuljerat 18 faur anu 1866.*
 P. 70: *Catane Sintu Ladosi Stetan 7 martie [1]862.* P. 114^v: *Ioan Ladosy so nescutu 4 februarie 1865 botedat 9 februarie 1865 prin preot Hisie Majer gr. unit. a Huducului [Maiorești] mama sa Revica Timar.*
 P. 119-120: *Au raposat Michaila Ladosi dascălu 1858 august 28.*
 P. 182^v: *Miszthagy Magyarai Gr. Nem egyesült cantor meg holt legjen esmeresemse Magyarom 24.*
 P. 214: *Michail Ladosi luna decembrie 29 1845.* Second flyleaf: *In anul 1853 am fost dascălu la Măiereu la Greco-neuniți pe la sfârșitul anului fiindcă am fost unit n-au vrut a mă primi Dascălu mai mult pînă nu mă dau neunit. Am scris în 20 oct. 1853. Ladosi Învățător. Măierău [Aluniș]. În anul 1853 am însemnat aici cum că în anul 1848 și 1849 au fost crâncenă revoluție întră poporul din Transilvania și întră Ungaria, adecă români și unguri și nemți. Români și cu nemții n-au biruit până n-au venit muscanu cu oastea lui. Tot în acei ani mai sus scriși am lăsat cășile cu tot ce e în dânsle și am fugit prin păduri Zaspadu vreo câteva zile tot pribeg am umblat de frica unguirilor fiind ei cu armandia și pe la Rușii, au pușcat mulți bărbați nenumărați. Tot atunci au pușcat și pe Ștefan Tășan din Măierău și inul nostru. Am scris în Magaro 20 zile Oct[ombrie] 1853 Mihail Ladosi învățătoriu. Anul 1853 Nov. 1 prin multă rugare am dat cuvint că mă voi da neunit la săteni dar protopop n-au fost acasă. Măierău Ladosi învățătoriu. Aici sta lucru în cumpănă.*





This led to the translation and printing of the New Testament (1648), the Psalter (1651), the Catechism (1656), many other liturgical books, and a collection of sermons edited by Ioan Zoba of Vinț and of Gheorghe Pop of Daia, in the last decades of the 17th century. These books appeared after a long period of stagnation in the typographical activity of the land, due to the serious political and military consequences of George Rákóczi II's deposition. Romanian sermons of previous times relied heavily on the collections of sermons published in Wallachia and Moldavia, with an obvious anti-Protestant message. Thus, the only area in which the programme of the Reformation reached its target was the use of the Romanian language in the divine service. Calvinism did not attract as many converts as expected.

A.D.

The Influence of Johannes Piscator's Scholarship on the 'Preface to the Reader' Published in the 'Alba Iulia Psalter' of 1651

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The *Psalter* published in Bălgrad¹ (modern-day Alba Iulia) in 1651 represents an important milestone in the history of Transylvanian culture, being the product of a handful of scholars who were animated by the conviction that interaction with the Scripture should be based on the text preserved in the original languages (Hebrew and Greek). Such a realization was expanded to include a Protestant commonplace: the need to render the Scriptures into the vernacular, for all people to read and understand. Thus, it is not by chance that the first Scripture translations into Romanian were produced in Transylvania, the region most prone to influences by various strands of what is termed, with a very capacious name, "the Reformation".

The present paper will introduce and comment on one of the sources used by the anonymous author of the "Preface to the Reader", the second prefatory material of the *Alba Iulia Psalter*. Long thought to be an original composition, the twenty-three-page preface proves to be, on careful inspection, an assemblage of excerpts from various Western scholars who made their mark in the field of Old Testament scholarship. My contribution will only analyse some three pages and a half. Needless to say, a full analysis would have to deal with all the complexities of this large text, which can be safely assumed to be the first substantial expository text in Romanian on the Book of Psalms. Despite the repetitive and somewhat convoluted style (which I have kept in the English translation), the anonymous author lays out a clear structure and introduces from the outset the four major topics to be discussed:

Before setting out to translate the Psalter from the Jewish language into the Romanian language, should it not be useful, it would still not be in vain to the Christians, beloved reader, to show first these four things: first we show that the Psalter is a holy book and it is praised and very useful for a man's soul. Secondly, concerning the *summa* of the Psalter. Thirdly, concerning the parts and the order of the Psalter. Fourthly, so we may know the writing of the Psalter, who has written

Notes

¹ Throughout this paper, I have used the modern edition: *Psaltirea* 2001.

▼ Fig. 1. Facsimile after the 1611 edition of Piscator's Commentary to the Psalms. Title page. Drawing after an online facsimile available at <https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/>.





▲ Fig. 2. Piscator's Preface to the Commentary on the Psalms is dedicated to Christian I, Prince of Anhalt-Bernburg (1568–1630). Drawing after an online facsimile available at <https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/>.

the Psalter: only David alone or others too? Concerning these, God willing, we will talk in orderly fashion, so that all Christian readers may understand how worthy and useful the Psalter is.²

This outline will be developed in full with material borrowed from four major scholars: Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1580), Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), Franciscus Junius the Elder (1545–1602), and Johannes Piscator (1546–1625). Unsurprisingly, three of the scholars listed above were Reformed and only one was Catholic. The contributions of Tremellius and Junius require further comment, in that they are not the ultimate source of the text they published. They merely rendered into Latin a so-called “Eulogy of the Psalter” written by Basil the Great and sometimes ascribed to Augustine or Jerome.

If we divide the twenty-three pages so as to reflect the contribution of the four 16th-century luminaries, we would come to the following table:

1 page	– original contribution by the Transylvanian author;
11 pages	– translation and abridgement of material by Piscator;
5 pages	– translation of Basil's <i>Laus Psalmorum</i> , as published by Tremellius and Junius;
3 pages	– translation and abridgement of material by Robert Bellarmine;
3 pages	– quotations from authors such as Hilary, Jerome and Euthymius Zigabenus.

Summing up, only three pages contain original contributions by the Transylvanian author himself. As I have already stated, the following section will only focus on Piscator, illustrating in detail the manner in which the theological reflections and comments of this author were translated, adjusted and incorporated into the new text appended to the *Alba Iulia Psalter*.

Piscator – the main source of the “Preface to the Reader”.

Johannes Piscator (1546–1625) belongs to the second generation of Protestant scholars. Born in Strasburg and educated in Tübingen, he taught in various centres of learning (including Heidelberg), finally settling in Herborn, where he spent most of his adult life (1584–1625). In 1587 he became head of the *Johannea*, the *Hohe Schule* established by count Johann VI of Nassau-Dillenburg, and committed his energy to producing textbooks (mainly of logic and rhetoric), exegetical works and dogmatic treatises. His extensive contributions include commentaries on both the New and Old Testaments, as well as a translation of the Bible into German for use among the Reformed churches. So prodigious was Piscator's work in the field of biblical studies, that he would be posthumously acclaimed with a memorable dictum: *Animus eius totus erat in Bibliis et Biblia tota erant in eius animo*.³

The *editio princeps* of his unassisted translation of the entire Bible (no other individual had done that since Luther) was published in 1602–1603 (with a second edition in 1604–1605). After completing the translation of the Bible, Piscator gave all his attention to writing biblical commentaries. Of direct relevance for this paper is his *In librum Psalmorum commentarius*, published separately in 1611 (*editio secunda*, 1618), and republished later as part of the multi-volume *Johannis Piscatoris Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti*.

As I will show below, the arguments deployed by Piscator gained credence with the Transylvanian author, despite their confessional peculiarities. Although the Transylvanian author is situated within an Orthodox context, his discourse on the Psalter is largely shaped by the Reformed vocabulary he encountered in his sources.

Notes

² *Mainte de ce am începe a izvodi psaltirea den limbă jidovască pre limbă rumânească, să nu va fi de folos încă în deșărt nu va fi creștinilor, oh, iubite cetitorii, să arătăm întâiu ceaste patru lucruri. Întăiu arătăm că psaltirea easte carte sfântă și-i laudată și foarte-i de folos sufletului omului. A doua oară, despre summa psaltirii. A treia oară, despre părțile și despre rândul psaltirii. A patra oară, să știm de scrisoarea psaltirii, cine au scris psaltirea: David numai singur au și alții? Despre-aceastea, cu vreaarea lui Dumnedzău, pre rând vom grăi, ca să înțeleagă toți cetitorii creștini câtui de deoseinică psaltirea și de treabă.*

³ Hotson 2013, p. 141.

"All Scripture is breathed by God": Confirming the inspiration of the Psalter.

The starting point for the comprehensive demonstration of the Psalter's value and usefulness is the statement that the whole Scripture is divinely inspired and that what applies to all Scripture applies to the Psalter as well. Piscator begins his *Praefatio* by stating that he holds the same ideas which Paul the Apostle professed concerning the whole Scripture of the Old Testament, namely that "All Scripture is inspired by God and is useful for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness" (2 Tim 3:16). The Reformed scholar adds that Scripture is relevant because it kindles hope; the biblical revelation was given "above all so that by the steadfastness and by the encouragement of the Scriptures we might possess that hope – undoubtedly, the hope of eternal life".

Piscator (2.Tim. 3. v.16 /
Rom.15 v.4):

*Igitur quod Apostolus Paulus
de tota veteris testamenti
Scriptura pronuntiat, esse
eam divinitus inspiratam,
et utilem ad doctrinam, ad
redargutionem, ad correctio-
nem, ad institutionem quae
est in iustitia: ac inprimis ut
per patientiam et consolati-
onem Scripturarum spem
illam (nimirum spem vitae
aeternae) teneamus: idipsum
nominatim de sacris psalmis
verum esse comperitur.*

Ps. 1651 (Romanian original):

*Pavel apostol în a doua Carte
la Timothei, glava 3, stih 16,
ce zice grăind despre toată
Scriptura Sfântă a Legiei
Noao: Toată Scriptura de
Dumnezeu-i răsuflată și-i
de folos spre învățătură, spre
certare, spre dojană și spre
învățătură, carea-i în drep-
tate: mai vărtos, ca pentru
răbdarea Scripturilor, nădeaj-
de să avem (Corintheani,
glava 15, stih 4). Acestea
toate cu adevărat să pot zice
despre psaltire.*

Ps. 1651 (English):

Paul the Apostle, in 2
Timothy 3:16, what does he
say when he speaks about
the entire Holy Scripture of
the New Law? All Scripture
is inspired by God and is use-
ful for teaching, for reproof,
for rebuke and for teaching,
which is in righteousness;
even more, that through the
patience of the Scriptures, we
may have hope (Corinthians,
ch. 15, v. 4). All of these
can truly be said about the
Psalter.

The Romanian text published in the *Alba Iulia Psalter* keeps the main ideas of Piscator, but introduces a few errors, probably because the translator did not fully understand the Latin text he was following. Among modern scholars it is basic knowledge that in the first century AD, when Christians spoke of the "Scriptures", they had in mind the Jewish Scriptures, also known as the Old Testament. Piscator knew that when Paul wrote "Scripture", he meant "all the writings of the Old Testament" (*tota veteris testamenti Scriptura*); at the time the New Testament had not yet been assembled in its received form. Strangely, the Transylvanian author seems to lack this basic knowledge and takes Scripture to mean *toată Scriptura Sfântă a Legiei Noao* ("the entire Holy Scripture of the New Law").

The second obvious error concerns a marginal biblical reference in Piscator's edition (Rom 15:4) which in the *Alba Iulia Psalter* is rendered incorrectly as *Corintheani, glava 15, stih 4* ("Corinthians, chapter 15, verse 4"). A seasoned reader of the Bible would never quote from the Epistles to the Corinthians without indicating which of the two is being referred to. It is therefore likely that this particular error was made by the printer, who mistook *Po* for *Ko* in the (perhaps unclearly written) manuscript.

As can be observed after a careful comparison of the Latin original and the Romanian version, the translator took great liberties with his source and abbreviated or paraphrased as he saw fit. Whereas Piscator quotes the biblical text almost verbatim (e.g. *per patientiam et consolatio-*

Fig. 3. The marginal notes in the *Alba Iulia Psalter* (p. 15) indicate the biblical references to which the main text alludes: Luke 24:46, 44; 1 Peter 2:7. Drawing after the copy of the print at the National Museum of Alba Iulia.



nem Scripturarum, Rom 15:4), the Transylvanian author gives a shortened form (*pentru răbdarea Scripturilor*, i.e. “through the steadfastness of Scriptures”) that looks puzzling. The argument would have become much clearer if the author of the Preface had quoted the 1648 *New Testament* verbatim: *ca pren răbdarea și pren mângâierea Scripturilor, nădeajde să avem*. One more detail should also be mentioned: in the Latin text, the term *spes* (“hope”) is explained by means of a parenthetical remark (*nimirum spes vitae aeternae*, “no doubt, the hope of eternal life”), omitted by the Romanian translator.

“Sit thou at my right hand”: Jesus’ use of the Psalms.

The key role of the Psalter, according to Piscator, is evidenced by the fact that Christ and his Apostles used it as an important source of prooftexts in the theological debates with their opponents.

Piscator (*Matth. 22. v. 43 et seqq.*):

Ac primū psalmos sacros esse divinitus inspiratos, patet ex eo, quōd ad articulos fidei Christianae confirmandos allegati sunt ab ipso Christo, tum etiam ab Apostolis, Petro et Paulo.

Etenim Christus contra Phariseos probaturus, Messiam non tantū fore filium Davidis, allegavit verba Davidis quae exstant psalmo centesimodecimo, ubi illum dominum suum nominat.

Ps. 1651 (Romanian original):

Că psaltirea easte răsuflată de Duhul Sfânt, pentru aceia-i carte svântă, una din cărțile sfinte ale Legiei Vechi.

Și-i de folos spre întărirea credinței creștinești, cum să arată dintr-aceasta că Hristos și apostolii lui aduc mărturii multe despre multe lucruri din psaltire întru Leagea Noao. Hristos, vrând să arate că mesia nu-i numai fiul lui David, aduse cuvintele lui David înainte, carele-s scrise în psalm 109, stih 1: „Zise Domnul Domnului Mie...” i proca(a), în care cuvintele cheamă pre Hristos că-i Domnul lui David (Mathei, 22, stih 43).

Ps. 1651 (English):

It is because the Psalter is inspired by the Holy Spirit that it is a holy book, one of the holy books of the Old Law. And it is useful for the confirmation of the Christian faith, as it is evident from the fact that Christ and his apostles bring many witness-es about many things from the Psalter into the New Law. Christ, willing to show that the Messiah is not only the son of David, quoted the words of David, which are written in Psalm 109, verse 1: “The Lord said to my Lord...” etc, in which words he calls Christ the Lord of David (Matthew 22, v. 43).

The fragment quoted above illustrates the ambivalent nature of the translation made by the Transylvanian scholar. On the one hand, he avoids some of the details given by Piscator (for instance, he omits the names “Peter and Paul”, opting instead for the general term “apostles”, and fails to mention the “Pharisees”, who are notorious opponents of Jesus in the Gospels. On the other hand, the author deliberately changes the numbering system of the Psalms, adopting that used in the Septuagint. In contradistinction to Piscator, the Transylvanian author uses the term *Leagea Noao* (literally “The New Law”), which is an idiosyncratic way of referring to the New Testament, set in opposition to the Old Law. Such vocabulary is not to be found in the writings of the mainstream Protestant scholars.

In a manner typical for most Reformed commentators, Piscator uses technical terms such as *articulos fidei Christianae* (“articles of Christian faith”), which have no equivalent in the Romanian text. Because such precise terminology was not available in Romanian at the time, the Transylvanian author had to make do with a simple phrase (*credința*

creştinească, i.e. "Christian faith").

Piscator (*Luc.24.v. 44 et seqq.*):

*Item post suam à mortuis
resurrectionem probaturus
apud discipulos, oportuisse
se, tanquam Christum seu
Messiam, ita pati, et resur-
gere à mortuis tertio die, et
praedicari in eius nomine
resipiscentiam ac remissionem
peccatorum apud omnes gen-
tes, incipiendo ab Hierusalem:
provocavit ad testimonia non
solum Mosis et Prophetarum,
sed etiam Psalmorum.*

Ps. 1651 (Romanian original):

*Iară după învierea lui Hristos,
vrând a arăta ucenicilor Săi
că Messiei i s-au căzut a
chinui și a învia din morți a 3
zi și a propovedui în numele
Lui pocăința și iertăciunea
păcatelor tuturor limbilor,
aduce mărturii nu numai de
la Moisi și de la proroci, ce și
din psaltire; *Luca 24:46 și 44.**

Ps. 1651 (English):

And after his resurrection,
Christ, willing to show to his
disciples that the Messiah
was destined to suffer and
resurrect from the dead on
the third day and to proclaim
in his name repentance and
the forgiveness of sins to all
nations, adduces witnesses
not only from Moses and the
prophets, but also from the
Psalter.

Piscator exemplifies Jesus' use of the Psalter by referring to the penultimate post-Resurrection episode narrated in the Gospel of Luke, where Jesus tells his disciples that everything foretold in the Scriptures concerning his passion, death and resurrection had to be fulfilled. Piscator's Latin largely follows the language of the Vulgate, with some adjustments (such as *resipiscentia* instead of *poenitentia*). While the Reformed scholar uses numerous words and phrases from the Biblical text (Luke 24:44-47), the Transylvanian scholar includes a condensed version, omitting phrases such as *à mortuis* ("from the dead") and *incipiendo ab Hierusalem* ("beginning from Jerusalem").

Strangely, the references are reversed in the Romanian edition (*Luca 24:46 și 44*, rather than *Luca 24:44, 46*) and the final verse (47) is not indicated. The reasons for the reversal might be the following: Piscator mentions first the passion of Jesus (v. 46) and leaves the reference to Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms (v. 44) to the end of his argument. The Transylvanian scholar must have noted this reversal and made the necessary changes in order to help the reader match Piscator's argument with the proper verses of Luke 24.

The excerpt quoted above contains a translation mistake: the passive infinitive *praedicari* ('to be proclaimed') was rendered by the active infinitive *a propovedui* ('to proclaim'), as if it were a deponent verb. By contrast, the 1648 *New Testament*, which is largely based on a Latin text, renders *praedicari* correctly, by means of a passive verb: *să se propovedu-iască* (Luke 24:47).

"The stone that the builders rejected":

St. Peter's use of the Psalms.

Piscator's argument began with the hermeneutics of Jesus, so the next hermeneutical link would have to include the most important of the Twelve Disciples: Peter, who plays a prominent role in both the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Portrayed in the Gospels as a rash character (it is Peter who provokes Jesus' shocking "Get thee behind me, Satan" – Mat 16:23), the most fundamental Apostle turns over a new leaf in John 21 and becomes a bold witness to Jesus' resurrection in the Acts. His most famous sermon, held on the day of Pentecost, is replete with Old Testament quotations, among which a few taken from the Messianic Psalms. This well-known episode is summarized by Piscator in the fragment below.

Piscator:

Sic Petrus in primâ suâ concione, Hierosolymis die Pentecostes ad universum Iudaeorum coetum habitâ, ostensurus, Iesum illum quem crucifixerant, esse Messiam seu Christum: protulit è psalmo decimosexto verba Davidis, quibus ille de resurrectione Christi prophetavit.

Ps. 1651 (Romanian original):

așijderea și apostolii mărturisesc din psaltire. Petru apostol, în propovedania lui dintâi, carea făcu în Ierusalim în dzua de Rusalii către mulțimea jidovilor, vrând a arăta că Isus, prea Carele-L răstigniră, easte Hristos au Mesia, aduse din 15 psalom, stih 10, 11, în carele prorocește despre înviarea lui Hristos, în Deanie 2, stih 29.

Ps. 1651 (English):

Similarly, the apostles give witness from the Psalter. The Apostle Peter, in his first proclamation, which he made in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost to the multitude of Jews, wishing to show that Jesus, whom they had crucified, is the Christ or Messiah, brought [witness] from Psalm 15, verse 10, 11, which prophesies about the resurrection of Christ, in Acts 2, verse 29.

The Romanian author makes the transition from the section about Jesus to the one about Peter by way of a general comment: *așijderea și apostolii mărturisesc din psaltire*, “in the same way, the apostles give witness from the Psalter”. In addition to the difference concerning the numbering system, we find an intriguing element in the Romanian text: the resurrection of Jesus is ascribed to Acts 2:29. By contrast, the marginal reference in Piscator indicates Acts 2:25 *et seqq.*, which is correct. We may account for the difference if we suppose that the correct verse number should have been KĖ (25), but the printer construed it as KΘ (29).

Piscator:

Idem in fide Iesu Christi confirmaturus fideles Israëlitas, qui tunc per Pontum, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Asiam et Bithyniam dispersi erant: inter alias de Christo prophetias recitavit verba psalmi centesimidecimiocavi, ubi ita scriptum legitur, Lapis quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est caput anguli. Quae eadem verba ipse quoque, Christus, tamquam de se dicta, apud sacerdotes et seniores populi in medium attulit.

Ps. 1651 (Romanian original):

Și iară Pătru, vrând a întări israeliteanii în credința lui Hristos, carii era atunci rășchiraț în Pont, în Galația, în Cappadochia, în Asia și în Vithania, într-alte prorocii carele aduce despre Hristos, aduce cuvinte den psalom 117, stih 22, unde zice: “Piatra carea nu o socotiră ziditorii, aceasta fu capul unghiului”. Care cuvinte Hristos, știind că-s scrise despre El, le aduse înaintea popilor și bătrânilor, Mathei, 21, 42.

Ps. 1651 (English):

And again Peter, wanting to strengthen the Israelites in their faith in Christ, who were dispersed in Pontus, in Galatia, in Cappadocia, in Asia and in Bethany, cites, among other prophecies about Christ, the words from Psalm 117, verse 22, where it says: ‘The stone which the builders did not take into account, this became the cornerstone’. These words Christ, knowing that they were written about him, quoted before the priests and the elders, Matthew 21, 42.

A second testimony supplied by Peter comes from his first epistle (1 Pet 2:7), which is intended to confirm the faith of the believers who live in the Diaspora. The only noteworthy element in this section is the toponym *Vithania*, which represents an erroneous interpretation of the Latin *Bithynia*. In the New Testament, Bithynia (a Roman province on the Western coast of modern-day Turkey) is mentioned in Acts 16:7 and 1 Peter 1:1. Incidentally, only the first of the two occurrences is rendered correctly (*Vitiniia*) in the 1648 *New Testament*. The forms *Vittaniia* / *Vitaniia* are erroneously used in the preface of 1 Peter and in the biblical

text itself, suggesting that a confusion between the Judean village and the Roman province was widespread.

We can surmise that the translators of both the Psalter and the New Testament committed a *lapsus menti* and used *Vithania* because the latter is mentioned more frequently (12 occurrences in the New Testament), being known especially as the setting of Jesus' anointing at the hands of Mary (John 12:1-8). However, if the translator of the 1651 Psalter wrote correctly (something which is by no means certain), we must hold the printer responsible for a typographical error.

"You will not let your Holy One see corruption": Paul's use of the Psalms.

The last set of examples illustrating the manner in which the Psalter is interpreted in the New Testament is taken from the ministry of Paul the Apostle. In order to make his demonstration more comprehensive, Piscator gleans relevant examples from both the Acts and the Pauline corpus.

Piscator:

*Iam Paulus quoque Antiochiae
urbe Pisidiae in synagoga
verba ad Iudaeos faciens,
ostensurus Iesum illum
qui Hierosolymis fuerat
crucifixus, esse Messiam sive
Christum: è duobus psalmis
testimonia protulit; videlicet è
psalmo secundo, *Filius meus
es tu, ego hodie genui te; et
è psalmo decimosexto, Non
sines sanctum tuum sentire
corruptionem.**

Ps. 1651 (Romanian original):

*Pavel apostol, așijderea
în Antiohia povestind în
sinagoga jidovilor, vru să
arate că Isus, Carele au fost
răstignit în Ierusalim, easte
Hristos au Mesia, aduce
mărturie den 2 psalom, stih
7, zicând: "Fiul Mieu ești Tu,
Eu astăzi Te născuiu". Și den
15 psalom, stih 10, zice: "Nu
veri da Sfântul* Tău să vadă
putregiune".
milostivul [mg. reading]

Ps. 1651 (English):

Apostle Paul, also, speaking
in Antioch in the synagogue
of the Jews, wanted to show
that Jesus, who was crucified
in Jerusalem, is the Christ,
that is the Messiah, adduces
testimony from Psalm 2,
verse 7, which says: 'You are
my son, today I have begot-
ten you'. And from Psalm 15,
verse 10, which says: 'You
will not let suffer your Holy
One to see corruption'.

The episode alluded to by Piscator in the fragment above is narrated in Acts 13. After being commissioned by the church in Antioch, Barnabas and Paul sail to Cyprus, minister in Salamis and Paphos, and then cross the sea northward and reach the province of Pamphylia (the south of today's Turkey). The last leg of this trip takes the apostles to Antioch of Pisidia, where Paul visits the local synagogue and delivers a long "word of exhortation" introducing Jesus as the Messiah promised in Israel's Scriptures.

Well acquainted with the subject matter of Acts 13, Piscator included a clarification "urbe Pisidiae" ("a city in Pisidia"), which in the context is not gratuitous, for it helps distinguish Antioch of Syria, where the chapter begins, from Antioch of Pisidia, where it ends. The Transylvanian author, by contrast, seems not to have felt a need to underline the distinction, and so left out the words of explanation.

Although Piscator observes that Paul quoted from two Psalms (*è duobus psalmis*), this observation is also omitted by the Transylvanian author. The only improvement on Piscator is the identification of the precise verses quoted.

We may also note that the quotations supplied in the Romanian version do not reflect the Psalter text. In Psalm 2:7 we read *Fiul Mieu ești Tu, Eu astăzi născuiu-Te*, whereas the preface has *Fiul Mieu ești Tu, Eu astăzi Te născuiu*. Whereas Psalm 15:11 reads *Neci veri lăsa milosul Tău să vadă putrejun*e, in the preface this verse is quoted as *Nu veri da*

Piscator:

*Idem Apostolus confirmaturus
articulum fidei de iustificati-
one hominis coram Deo,
videl. quòd illa consistat in
remissione peccatorum: citavit
verba Davidis quae leguntur
psalmo trigesimosecundo in
principio.
Ex quibus omnibus apparet,
sacros psalmos à Christo
et Apostolis pro divinitus
inspiratis agnitos esse.*

*Sfântul Tău să vadă putregiune.*⁴ Furthermore, the term *milos* is glossed marginally as “*milostiv*”.⁵

Ps. 1651 (Romanian original):

*Iarăș Pavel, vrând să arate că
omul să îndereaptă înaintea
lui Dumnezeu den credință,
aduce înainte cuvintele lui
David, den psalom 31, stih 2.*

Ps. 1651 (English):

Again Paul, wanting to show
that man is justified before
God by faith, puts forward
the words of David from
Psalm 31, verse 2. From all
of these anyone can see
that Christ and his apostles
held the Psalter to be Holy
Scripture.

*Dintr-acestea den toate,
poate vedea săvâi cine că
Hristos și apostolii Lui au
ținut psaltirea – Scriptură
Sfântă.*

Notes

⁴ The word *sfântul* corresponds to the Latin *sanctum*, the term used by Piscator to interpret the Hebrew *hāšid* (Gr. *ὁσιος*). The fact that the Romanian *milos* and *milostiv* (lit. ‘merciful’, ‘compassionate’) are used to equate a term which in the Hebrew and Greek texts is mainly associated with religious piety and devotion is intriguing. We can surmise that, having translated Hebrew *heseḏ* by *milă* (‘mercy’), the Transylvanian translator decided to render the cognate *hāšid* by *milos*, which would be a natural choice for any translator aiming at consistency.

⁵ The lexicographers responsible for the entry *milos* in the *Dicționarul limbii române* (tomul XI, M, p. 543, ed. 2010) have classified this particular occurrence erroneously: “(Substantivat, m. art.) Epitet dat lui Dumnezeu. *Nici vor lăsa milosul tău să vadă putregiune* (a. 1651)”. However, the term is applied to king David in the Psalms. Later, during the first Christian century, the Psalm was used to describe the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. A comprehensive discussion of “*milos*” should have included references to the underlying Hebrew, Greek and Latin concepts which go into creating the very idiosyncratic usage encountered in Ps. 15:11 (Ps. 1651).

The last section to deal with the Pauline use of the Psalter focuses on a topic of great importance for the Protestants. No champion of the Reformation would have failed to highlight that Paul employs the Psalms in order to confirm the *articulum fidei de iustificatione hominis coram Deo* (“the article of faith concerning justification of man before God”), which is explained as consisting in *remissione peccatorum*. Piscator includes a marginal gloss with the biblical reference backing his claim (*Rom. 4. v. 6.7. & 8*).

The Romanian version does not have the technical term “article of faith”, because the author could not find a suitable term for it. Instead, we find a paraphrase which helps explain the main point: “man is justified before God by faith”. However, the reader of the 1651 Psalter is left to wonder where exactly, in Paul’s epistolary corpus, is to be found the article concerning justification. Unfortunately, the marginal references (*Rom. 4:6,7,8*) in the Romanian edition are unsynchronised with the lines stating that man is justified by faith. We may suspect that the printed sheets of the Psalter were not carefully proofread to ensure that the marginal glosses are aligned with the main text.

The final sentence of this section rounds off the argument with the conclusion: from all of the above it emerges that the sacred Psalms were recognized by Christ and by the Apostles as being divinely inspired. The Romanian version preserves the idea, but makes some slight alterations, using *Psaltirea* instead of *sacros psalmos* and equating the Latin *divinitus inspiratis* with *Scriptură Sfântă*.

Conclusions.

A thorough analysis of the initial pages in the Preface to the Reader reveals that the Transylvanian translator followed the original composition of Johannes Piscator. However, the latter’s *Praefatio* was modified in certain respects, leading to formulations which are not always an improvement to the original text. The changes introduced in the Romanian version could be systematized as follows.

(1) The sophistication of Piscator’s argument proved challenging for the Transylvanian translator, who either missed subtle points of the Latin text or was forced to avoid its intricacies. Not being familiar with the biblical context, the Romanian translator ended up writing that in 2 Timothy 3:16 Paul refers to the New Testament (a patent impossibility).

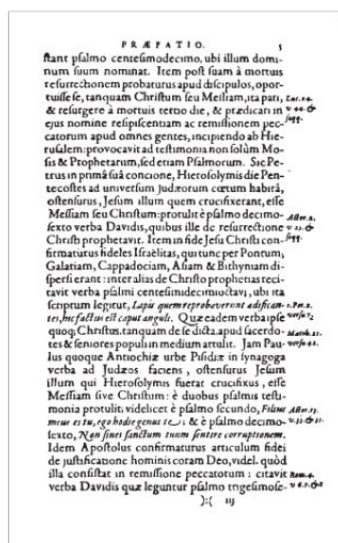
He also left uncorrected references such as Corinthians (when The Epistle to the Romans was in view). When he did not fully grasp the biblical allusion included by Piscator, the Transylvanian author resorted to a shorter form ("through the patience of Scriptures") despite the fact that the full form would have been more appropriate ("through the patience and encouragement of Scriptures"). Unacquainted with the distinction between "Bethany" and "Bithynia", the Romanian translator used the more familiar toponym instead of the rarer one (a mistake which is also encountered in the 1648 *New Testament*). It is perhaps the same lack of adequate knowledge that accounts for the omission of the explanatory *urbs Pisdiae*, used by Piscator in connection with the city of Antioch. The shortage of proper terminology prompted the translator to avoid technical terms such as *articulus fidei*, opting instead for a paraphrase.

(2) Although emerging from an Orthodox milieu, the Psalter published in Bălgrad (Alba Iulia) retains a classic Protestant theological commonplace: the justification by faith. While the translator could not find a suitable equivalent for the Latin phrase *articulus fidei*, he preserved a quintessential Protestant theme, albeit in a simplified form, giving the Preface an unmistakable Protestant flavour.

(3) The *Alba Iulia Psalter* includes numerous marginal glosses, many of them in the form of biblical references. This inner-biblical reference system bespeaks a Protestant approach to Scripture, which is perceived as a closed system, designed to be studied with utmost care and devotion. The Romanian editor of the Psalter, although eager to make the printed Psalter more attractive by means of this reference system, did not make sure that the marginal references follow closely the ideas in the main text. By contrast, the Protestant printers, who had a steady interest in such typographical niceties, had no difficulties in aligning the marginal references and the text.

(4) The Romanian Preface contains a peculiar feature which is hard to explain. Why would the translator use the term "New Law" (*Leagea Noao*) to describe the New Testament? Was this a standard way of referring to the New Testament in the Orthodox milieu of Transylvania? Further research should account for this usage, which to the modern reader appears as an idiosyncratic misnomer.

▼ Fig. 4. The 1611 edition of Piscator's *Commentary to the Psalms. Preface*. Drawing after an online facsimile available at <https://bibliothek.uni-halle.de/>.





Louis Gauvain

***Version nouvelle des
Pseaumes de David***

**A New Version of the Psalms
in French Verse**

Jena, 1677

Biblioteca Județeană Mureș
– Biroul Colecții Speciale.
Biblioteca Teleki,
Târgu-Mureș

*Version nouvelle des Pseaumes
de David en vers françois. Sur les
airs de ceux de Clement Marot,
& de Theodore de Beze par Louis
Gauvain, Docteur en droit. A Jena,
de l'imprimerie de Jean Jacques
Bauhöfer. M.DC.LXXVII [1677]*

Cota Bo-2369.

Catalog Teleki, I, p. 75.

One engraving + [11] p. + 606 p.
+ [5] p.

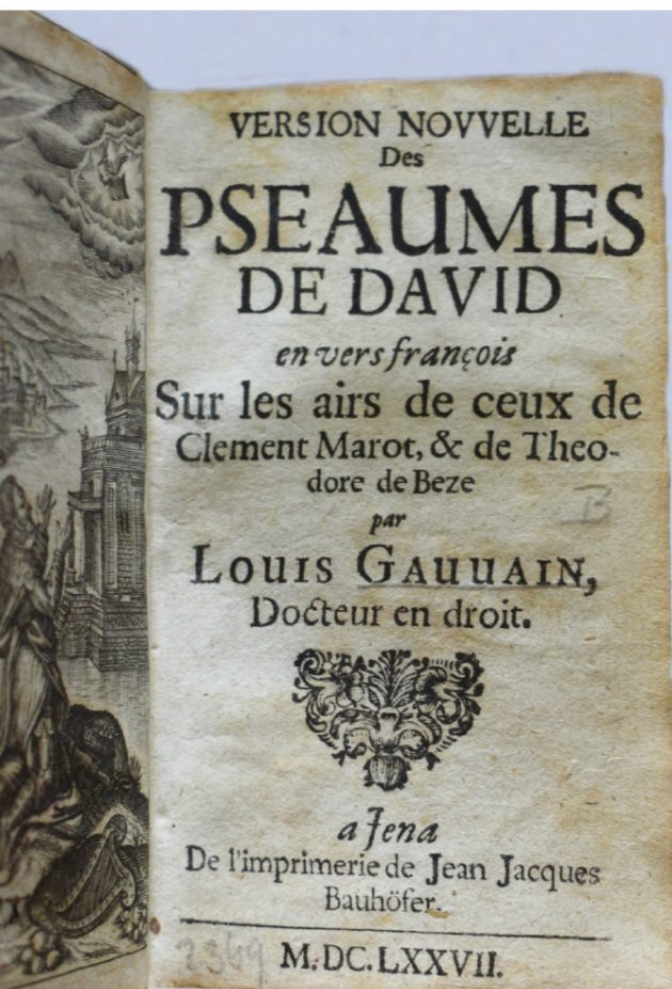
[10] p. + 219 p, p. [8] and p. 220-
300 are missing.

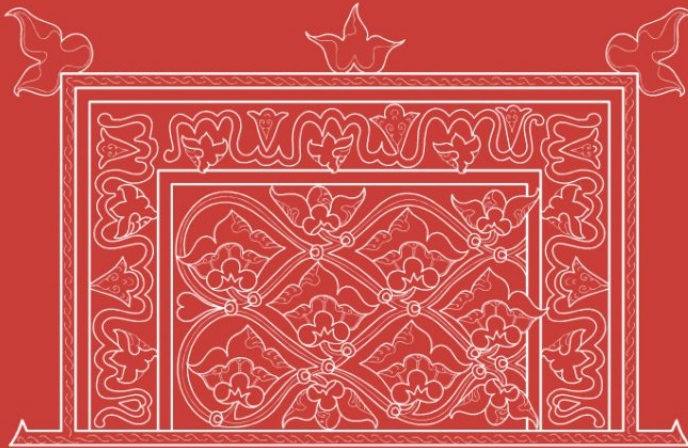
In duodecimo (13,5 x 8 cm), black
typeface in Latin script and musi-
cal notes, single block of text of
26 lines per page. Some typo-
graphical decorations present,
such as initials, frontispieces,
vignettes, and one engraving.

The volume is bound in parch-
ment over cardboard, without
any decorative features. The
spine bears the book's title.

Good overall conservation state,
some wear, humidity marks, and
minor woodworm bore holes.

Annotations: On the first cover,
an *ex libris* card of the Reformed
College of Târgu-Mureș.





The Renaissance had rapidly put ideas into motion across Europe. As far as Protestantism is concerned, a religious movement which soon followed in the footsteps of the Renaissance, it triggered a true fashion for translating the Psalms into verse. These verse translations first appeared in the French Reformed communities (Huguenots). The Geneva Psalter, the first complete version of the Huguenot Psalter, was a verse and music adaptation of the whole book of Psalms. It was sung in Calvinist churches. The texts of this adaptation were gathered by Calvin in several stages, in Strasbourg and Geneva, and published between 1539-1562.

V.A.



Calvin's Psalter was based on countless adaptations made by two French poets: Clément Marot and Theodore Beza. The first was a court poet of the King of France. The second was a true scholar, who dealt not only with the translation of the Psalms into French, but also with Latin paraphrases of the same Psalms. As soon as it touched German land, the success of these vernacular hymns was immediate in the Protestant milieu. The texts inspired by the Huguenot Psalter even reached the Romanian communities of Transylvania. Around 1575 in Cluj, these Romanians had printed a Songbook written in Latin script instead of Cyrillic, following a Western fashion. In the following century, the Romanian metrical psalms were frequently copied, especially in Latin-alphabet versions, but there were Cyrillic versions as well.

V.A., A.D.

Jean Le Preux, Theodore
Beza, George Buchanan

Psalmorum sacrorum
The Holy Psalms

Morgiis, 1581

Biblioteca Județeană Mureș
– Biroul Colecții Speciale.
Biblioteca Teleki,
Târgu-Mureș

Psalmorum sacrorum Davidis libri quinque duplici poetica metaphrasi, altera alteri è regione opposita vario carminum genere Latine expressi Theodoro Beza Vezelio, & Giorgio Buchanano Scoto autoribus. Qui rursus, adiunctis quatuordecim Canticis, ex utriusque testamenti libris excerptis, argumentis & Paraphrasi per ipsum Th. Bezam Vezelium illustrantur. Eiusdem Buchanani Tragoedia quae inscribitur Iepthes. Morgiis, excudebat Joannes le Preux, Illustriss. Dominorum Bernensium Typog. M.D.LXXXI [1581]

Cota BO-1714.

Catalogus I, B 157.

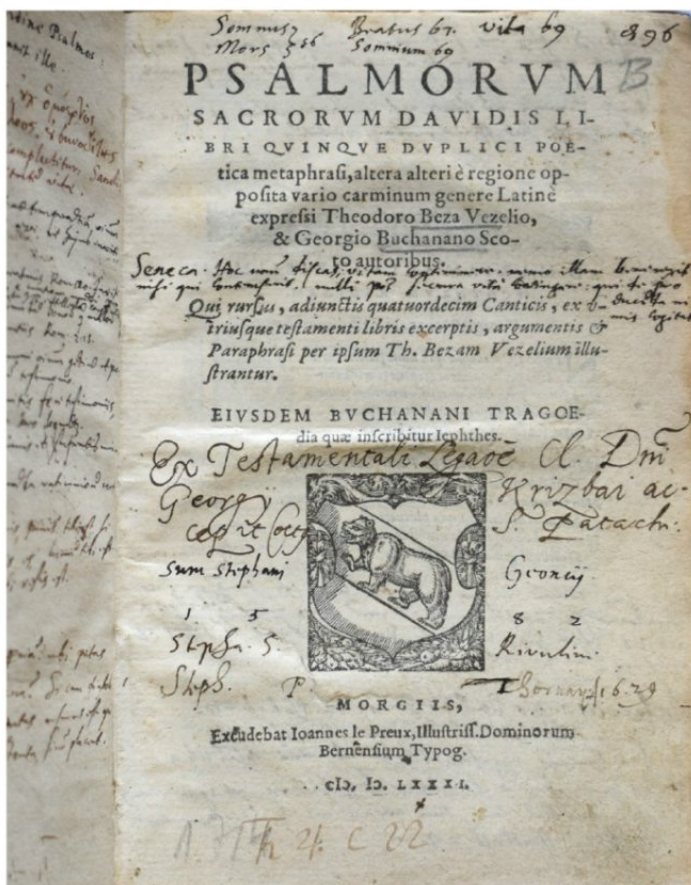
[6] f. + 1042 p.

In octavo (18,5 x 11 cm), black typeface in Latin script with upper-case and lowercase letters. Some typographical ornaments by way of initials, frontispieces, vignettes and engravings.

The volume is bound in leather over cardboard. The first cover is decorated with a series of linear frames with some floral ornaments, the initials S. G. and the year 1582, probably the year of the binding and in the centre there is a portrait of Martin Luther. The second cover is similarly decorated, save for the year and initials, and it features another reformer, Philipp Melancthon. Some floral elements are also found on the spine and the binding is gilded, as are the edges of the book block, also featuring floral elements.

Good overall state of conservation, with some wear, minor humidity stains and woodworm bore holes.

Annotations: Marginalia across several pages. Front cover: ex-libris card of the Reformed College in Târgu-Mureș. Title page: *Ex Testamentali legave Cl. Dni. Georgij Krizbai [...] Colleg. S. Patachi. Sum Stephani Geoncy 1582; Stephanus Rivulini; Steph. P. Thornai A. 1629.*



Psalmen Davids
in
Teutsch
vnd **Frankö-**
sische Reymen
artig gebracht

Sampt
Andern Psalmen
vnd **Geistlichen Liedern:**
auch Catechismo vnd Kir-
chenordnung.

Der Jugend zu gut in bey-
de Sprach verfaßt.

Pseaumes de
Dauid,
en
Allemand
& **François**, mis
en Rime.

Avec
Autres Pseaumes
& **Cantiques spiri-**
tuels: aussi le Cate-
chisme, & prieres Ec-
clesiastique.

Comprinſes en deux lan-
gues, pour l'vtilité de
la ieunesse.



In Hanaw/bey Thomas Willer vnd Johan le Clercq.
M D C X I I.

Psalmen Davidis in Teutsch David's Psalms in German

Hanau, 1612

Biblioteca Județeană Mureș

– Biroul Colecției Speciale.

Biblioteca Teleki,

Târgu-Mureș

Psalmen Davids in Teutsch und Frantzösische Reymen artig gebracht sampt Ander Psalmen und Geystlichen Liedern auch Catechismo und Kirchenordnung. Der Jugend zu gut in beybe Sprach verfasst. Pseaumes de David, en Allemand et François, mis en rime. Avec autres Pseaumes & Cantiques spirituels aussi le Catechisme, et prieres ecclesiastiques. Comprinses en deux langues, pour l'utilité de la ieunesse. Zu Hanau, bey Thomas Willier und Johan le Clercq, MDCXII [1612]

Cota BO-4953.

Catalog Teleki, I, p. 75.

260 p. + [4] p. + p. 1-24, 33-84; pp. 25-32 are missing from the second numbered section, and are replaced with blank pages. Every section has a separate title page.

In octavo (17 x 11 cm), black type-face in Latin and Gothic script, two columns in German and French. Some printed decorative elements such as initials, frontispieces, engravings, and printed frames for the title pages.

The volume is bound in leather over cardboard; the covers are decorated with a double linear frame and floral elements. The spine features floral elements between bands, and all the decorations are gilded.

Good overall state of conservation. Some wear, humidity stains, and foxing marks. The covers are detached from the book block.

Annotations: On the first cover, an *ex libris* card of the Reformed College of Târgu-Mureș. On the first flyleaf (1^r): *Est Francisci Intze ab A[nn]o 1799 – 32*. On the title page: the initials B. Z.





One of the Romanian translators of the Huguenot Psalter served as a Reformed pastor in Sântămăria Orlea, a village in the Land of Hatseg (Hunedoara County). His name was John Viski and he wrote a Romanian metrical version of the Psalms at the end of the 17th century. He used the Latin alphabet. His version was a Romanian adaptation of the songs of Calvin, and it may help us understand how twisted and tangled the links between these metrical Psalms really were.

V.A., A.D.

John Viski

Psaltire

Psalter

manuscript

Sântămărie Orlea, 1697

Biblioteca Academiei

Române, Filiala Cluj-Napoca

A Iuj SVENT DAVID Kraj SI PRO-ROKul o szutyte si csincs dzecs de SOLTARI Kari au Szkrisz ku menile Iuj VISKI JÁNOS en BÓLDÓGFALVO 1697.

Cota Ms. Reformat 1502

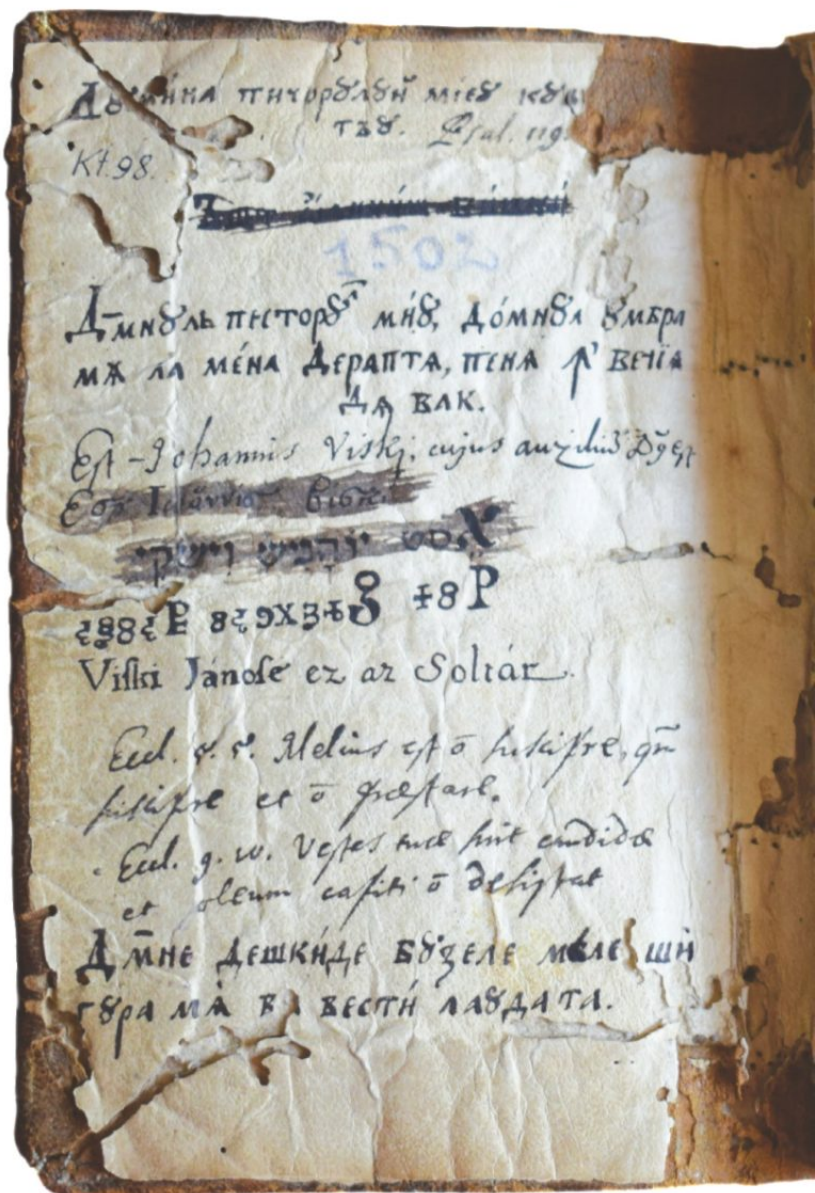
Silași 1875, p. 141-145.

[202] p., foliotation made in pencil. Page 1 is unnumbered, and pages 8-16 are missing.

In octavo (16,5 x 10 cm) manuscript, Latin script in Romanian language, black and brown ink. Some decorated initials, vignettes and floral frame on the page title. The Psalter itself ends on page 150', followed by other religious texts.

The volume is bound in leather over cardboard. The overall state of conservation is good; some wear marks, brown staining; the text block is partially dethatched from the spine inlay, causing the stripping of some quires and leaves.

Annotations: On the front cover, Viski Jánosé ez az Soltár and some religious texts in Romanian and Latin. The name of the author is written in both Greek and Cyrillic scripts. P. [150']: Szversitul Soltarelor, kezedettem irni Boldogfalván elvégeytem All Gyogyon 1697: Die VI Augusti reggel Viski János mp. P. [150r]: Szversitul Soltarelor, kezedettem irni Boldogfalván elvégeytem All Gyogyon 1697: Die VI Augusti reggel Viski János mp. On the back cover, Cyrillic numbers and their Arab counterparts.



1502

Aluj

SVENT

DAVIDK^{raj},

SI PROROKul

o szutyē si csincs dzec
de

SOLTARI,

Kari au szkriř ku
menile luj

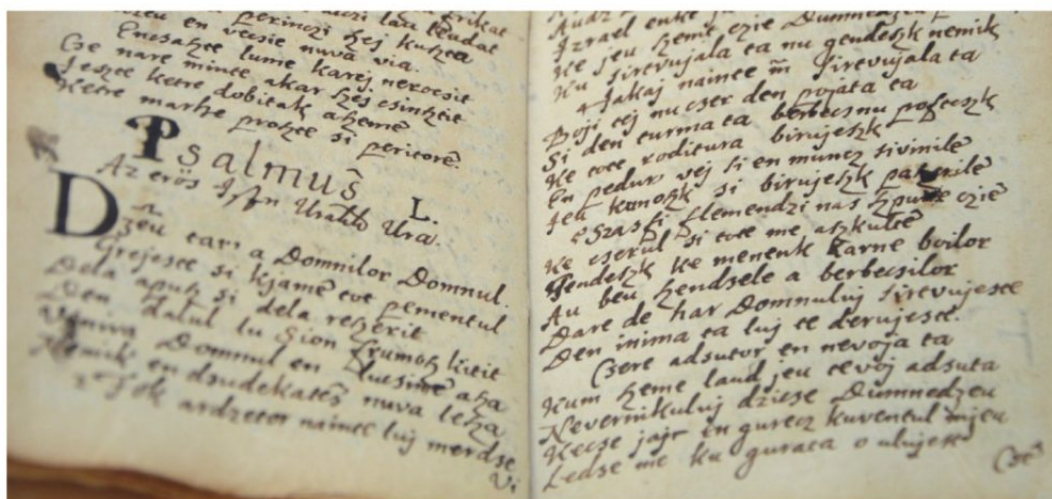
Viski JÁNOS.

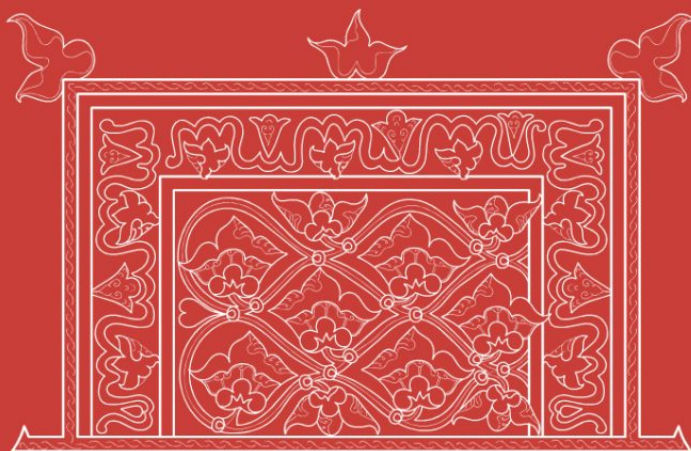
en

BOLDOGFALVA

81 5 97.

BIBLIOTHECA
FAMILIARIS





The Romanian Calvinists did not reach large numbers, but enjoyed great cohesion, and played an important cultural role. Most of them were the descendants of Romanians who embraced Roman Catholicism in the previous centuries, as well as fresh converts who joined them after the Reformation. Their group benefited from the services of several scholars, including the two Michael Halitch, father and son. They have financially supported their own editorial activity and enforced the use of the Latin alphabet when writing in Romanian. Gathered in small, compact communities, especially in the Banat and in the Land of Hatseg, their coexistence with the Orthodox generated a rare phenomenon in the history of European Christianity: the bi-ritual churches.

A.D.

Making the Best of Both Worlds: the Historical Background of the Protestant and Orthodox Romanian Early Modern Psalters

Ana Dumitran

National Museum of the Union,
Alba Iulia

In this article, the term Early Modern Romanian Psalter will refer to those versions of the Psalms that were meant to be widely circulated in print, even as they were conceived. The Psalters printed in 1568,¹ 1570,² 1577³ and 1588-1589⁴ in Braşov and in 1651⁵ in Alba Iulia are also included in this category. The former may be considered results of the editorial work carried out under the patronage of the Reformed Romanian Episcopate founded by the 1566 Diet Decision.⁶ The latter is part of the effort to translate sacred texts made by the Transylvanian Orthodox Church since 1640, through the Reformation program of the Hungarian Calvinist superintendent,⁷ programme that all those who were at the helm of this Church until the end of the 17th century had to observe. As versions in Romanian, they are therefore associated with Protestantism and with the political body's missionary policy. As an ultimate goal, they were an instrument of interiorisation of the faith, which – along with other books printed in Romanian, especially sermon collections, some of them explicitly anti-Protestant – had a major role in building the Orthodox identity of the Transylvanian Romanians.

In the 16th century, as in the middle of the next, the responsibility of translators towards the recipients and readers of their texts does not fail to impress. In order to strengthen their trust in the reliability of the translation, the readers were offered a bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian version (1568), reprinted in 1577 and 1588-1589, a sign that it enjoyed a great deal of success. A century later, the comparison of the Hebrew, Greek, Slavic, Latin, and other modern translations prevailed, as the authors of the Romanian version of 1651 were probing an authentic Humanist spirit and were aiming at covering a wide linguistic field. Both methodologies prove determination and the desire to persuade the readership through the quality of their intellectual undertaking rather than by appealing to the coercive means made available by the political authorities.

For a time when the most brutal confessional disputes prevailed, be they internal, Transylvanian, or in the general European religious climate,

Notes

1 BRV, vol. 1, nr. 14; *Bilingual Romanian-Old Church Slavonic Psalter* printed under the patronage of the Lutheran Benkner family; see Gheţie, Mareş 1994, p. 122-124.

2 BRV, vol. 1, nr. 16; *Romanian Psalter* printed under the patronage of the reformed Romanian bishop Pavel Tordaşi; see Gheţie, Mareş 1994, p. 124-125.

3 BRV, vol. 1, nr. 19; *Bilingual Romanian-Old Church Slavonic Psalter* whose Romanian text closely follows the previous versions published in 1568 and in 1570. See Gheţie, Mareş 1994, p. 126-129. Critical edition: Toma 1976.

4 BRV, vol. 4, nr. 14; *Bilingual Romanian-Old Church Slavonic Psalter*; see the chapters Coresi, *Psaltirea slavo-română (1577) în comparație cu Psaltirile coresiene din 1570 și 1589* and *Psaltirile chirilice tipărite în Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea* in Demény, Demény 1986.

5 BRV, vol. 1, nr. 60; *Romanian Psalter* from the Reformation / Calvinisation programme of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church. See Mărza 1998, p. 46-49; Pavel 2001, p. 43-60. Critical edition: *Psaltirea* 2001.

6 Hurmuzaki 1897, vol. II/5, p. 602: in order to correct any mistakes and to teach the Transylvanian Romanians the true Christian faith, the Sibiu Diet appointed a superintendent with the task of organising public debates with the Orthodox clergy in order to draw them on the side of the Reformation. For more information on the activities of this reformed bishopric that functioned until the end of the 16th century, see Dumitran 2010a.

7 This programme was created by Calvinist Hungarian superintendents in several stages, beginning with the 20's of the 17th century and until 1669. This programme included references to superstition- and cult-related practices, both considered as non-compliant with authentic Christian values; pastoral quality; the administrative, jurisdictional, and educational systems; the subservience of the Romanian Orthodox Church from Transylvania to the Reformed Hungarian Church. In order to better grasp the complex context in which this programme was carried out, see Dumitran 2002.

Notes

8 Expelled from Transylvania in 1570; Veress 1929, p. 292.

9 Deposed, judged and fined for disregarding the Reformist programme. Chindriș 1995, vol. 2, p. 220-228.

10 Deposed, judged and imprisoned. Chindriș 1995, vol. 2, p. 245-248.

11 For a synthetic overview of these exemptions, see Dumitran 2004a.

12 For an idea on the extent of this movement, see Dumitran 2004b.

13 For an overview of Romanian printing patronage in Transylvania, see Dumitran 2003.

14 On the title page of the New Testament printed in 1648, explicit mention is made that the printing house belongs to the prince and that it is located within the city walls, especially given that the residence of the Alba Iulia Metropolitan was situated outside the city. See BRV, vol. 1, p. 164.

15 Lupaș 1940, vol. 1, p. 228.

16 Murdock 1995, p. 221.

17 Fejér 2011, chapter 4.

18 BRV, vol. 4, nr. 7. Critical edition: Gheție 1982b.

19 *A Iuj Szvent David kraj si Prorokul o szutye si csincs dzecs de soltari*, Romanian Academy Library, Cluj, inv. Ms. R. 1502. See also Sipos 1997, p. 212.

20 *SoltariIye a Iuj szfunt David Kraji si prorok*, Romanian Academy Library, Cluj, inv. Ms. U. 579. See also Gherman 1973, p. 180-181.

it is hardly conceivable to imagine an 'irenic' attitude of our translators. Such a mystification, easily committed by the nowadays researcher, is influenced by the contemporary pacifist discourse, with the intention of reconciling divergent attitudes towards religious, ethnic, sexual orientation, etc. Unfortunately, it was far from simple or convenient to live in Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries for those who – regardless of spiritual affiliation – did not have the economic status to make themselves accepted by society. Romanians were mostly an indentured population with a social elite significant in number, but not in terms of influence; they counted in the political equation as they were sincerely interested in the salvation of so many souls in ignorance – as the Diet of 1566 stated when the Reformed Episcopate was established, or as prince Gabriel Bethlen indicated when he decided to subordinate the Romanian Church to the Hungarian Calvinist Church. Romanians also counted as an *instrumentum regni* in an effort to centralize a young state, located in a geo-political context that made it extremely vulnerable. That is why the harsh, aggressive attitude resulting in famous victims such as the bishops Sava of Geoagiu-Lancrăm (in 1570),⁸ Ilie Iorest (in 1643),⁹ and Sava Brancović (in 1680)¹⁰ alternated with exemption from certain tax duties of the entire preaching class¹¹ and with the predisposition for ennoblement of any priest who stood out in some way as a loyal servant to the book and altar.¹²

Printing Romanian-language books of worship in the 16th century was supported and encouraged by important members of the Hungarian nobility, and, in the 17th century, this was even encouraged by the princely *curia*.¹³ In order to print the New Testament and the Psalters in the best graphical conditions, the prince's printing house in Alba Iulia was equipped with a Cyrillic section,¹⁴ translators were hired,¹⁵ two Romanian students were educated every year in the Alba Iulia college at the expense of the prince,¹⁶ and the princesses financially supported a Romanian school similar to the Hungarian schools of the time on their Făgăraș domain.¹⁷

Moreover, there were verse translation of the Psalter that anticipated the bond between the Roman origin of Romanians and the Latin alphabet. These texts adapted the Romanian language to a Latin graphic appearance for the first time, whether we are talking about the Book of Songs published in Cluj in 1570¹⁸ or the only two remaining complete manuscript translations made by John Viski¹⁹ in Sântămărie-Orlea, Hatseeg region, in 1697, or in Râu de Mori in 1703 by Stephen Istvánházi,²⁰ or by their numerous copies found on the *flyleaves of books* in private libraries.

But do all these positive aspects compensate for the individual and collective humiliations that stemmed from the little or lack of political representation and the status of mere tolerance to which the Orthodox faith was reduced? In retrospect and in comparison with the other Romanian territories where the Orthodox Church never encountered any resistance or constraints, it becomes obvious that the process of 'vernacularisation' of the divine service started in Transylvania a century and a half earlier than in the south or east of the Carpathians, and this process might be considered concluded at the end of the 17th century when, in the context of the religious Union with Rome, the Transylvanian Church unequivocally stated its preference for the vernacular language to any of the sacred languages.

The use of Romanian, the translation practice, the open market that the

► Fig. 1. The medieval church in Sântămărie Orlea (Hunedoara county), bi-ritual in the 17th and early 18th century, the place where John Viski transcribed his Romanian Metrical Psalter.

© Vladimir Agrigoroaei.



Transylvanian Romanian communities represented for Romanian books printed in Moldavia and Wallachia, the individual reading – especially that of the Psalter – must have had some influence on the scholars' thought processes which might have stemmed from their conciliatory attitudes, previously discussed. These scholars – scrupulously trying to improve themselves – tried to share their experience and took the best anyone had to offer in order to give – in Romanian and for the understanding of those who previously were unable to – the best version of the holy texts, aware that the salvation of those who read it depended on the words they chose.

They were able to do so because they had a high moral conscience and responsibility, let us say – inspired by the Orthodox faith, but also because they were encouraged, stimulated, and rewarded by the Protestant authorities, which gave them the measure of their importance in the community, instilling them with the feeling of pride for participating in the “enlightenment” and the “building of the nation”,²¹ to “the good of the public, and especially to the glory of God”.²² Being part of such an approach was synonymous to participating in political life. Practically, the translation programme gave the Romanians an added value in the eye of the authorities, as being more than a human mass worthy of interest solely on the grounds of the amount of proceeds earned from it. These “labourers of the Lord's will” were the apostles of their time, humble as those who were elected and sent by Christ; they could also be considered evangelists in the most simple sense of the word, and no less than the Humanist scholars from whom they largely claimed their science, as they genuinely built national awareness and ultimately national conscience.

Naive but persevering, they believed in the power of the word they gave life to, hoping – perhaps – that through their effort they would alleviate the conflicts between Christian faiths. And why would they have believed any differently when they saw with their own eyes that in the same church, sometimes formerly Catholic, the Orthodox and the Reformed mass could be celebrated on the same day, that more and more Orthodox priests were thriving under the protection of the law, that literate Romanians were gaining access to administrative positions, that they began to believe in themselves, seeking the right moment to claim their rights, that – in the context of the union with the Catholic Church – Romanian was accepted among the sacred languages by Rome and the Holy Father himself?

Naive and persevering indeed, and especially naive... as the history of the 18th century would prove, given that it was going to be a century removed from under the sign of Reformation.

Notes

²¹ These expressions were used by the Romanian priests in the prefaces of printed editions from the late 17th century (see BRV, vol. 1, p. 272 and 276) as well as by the wife of Prince Gheorghe Rákóczi I in the foundation deeds of the Romanian school in Făgăraş (Lupaş 1940, vol. 1, p. 276).

²² The quotation is taken from a text where princess Suzana Lórántffy justifies the foundation and endowment of the Romanian school on her Făgăraş domain (Lupaş 1940, vol. 1, p. 276).



Fig. 2. Râu de Mori, 'Malomvîz' in Hungarian (Hunedoara county), on the Josephinian Land Survey of 1763-1787.

© Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 3. Ruins of the Calvinist chapel in Râu de Mori (Hunedoara county), the village where Stephen Istvánházi transcribed his Romanian Metrical Psalter.

© Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

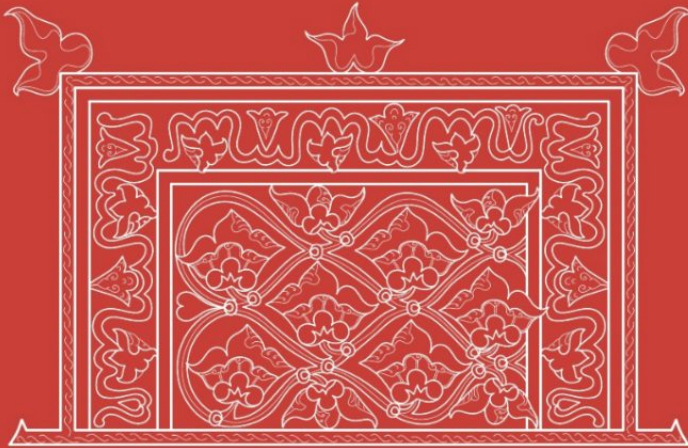
Fig. 4. Romanian (Cyrillic) and Greek versions of the 'Pater noster' in the manuscript of John Viski.

© Biblioteca Academiei Române, Filiala Cluj-Napoca.

Татжа нострѣ чееши ꙗ' чегюре, сфин-
цѣскзх нѣмеле тѣх. Сзвѣе ꙗ' пѣрзціатѣ,
фіе боѣта, кѣмѣе ꙗ' чѣрю аша шѣ прѣ-
пзмѣт. Пннѣ нострѣ детоѣте знеле-
ажнѣо ноѣо астѣз. Шнне гартѣ ноѣо
пѣкателе ностре, кѣм ѣртѣм ш' нѣ гре-
шѣнлор нощрѣ. Шн нѣне двѣте прѣно-
ꙗ' нѣзпѣсте, чене нѣзѣжѣще прѣно-
дерзѣ, нѣзѣтѣ атѣ ꙗ' пѣрзціѣ шн пѣтѣрѣ шн
слава ꙗ' трѣ вѣ амѣн.

Πατερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀναθίτω τὸ
ὄνομα σου. Ἐλθίτω ἡ βασιλεία σου. Χρηθήτω
τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
τῆς γῆς. Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ βίον δός ἡμῖν σή-
μερον. Καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.
Καὶ μὴ εἰσενεγκῆς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν. Ἀλλὰ
ρύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονήρος, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἡ βα-
σιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τὸν αἰ-
ῶνα. Ἀμήν.

ΚΟΝΤΥΤΑΡΑ



*Just like Calvin, who reused previous translations, Viski was not the translator of all the psalms in his songbook. Some belonged to him, others were written by his forebears, whose texts he copied in his manuscript. These were the anonymous verse translations by a poet whose Romanian lyrics are preserved in the **Gyármáthi document** (1660), **Stephen Fogárási's Metrical Psalms** (1648), the **Psalms of Agyagfalvinus** (1642), and – last but not least – the rare fragments of **Michael Halitch the father** (1640). Viski was only a link in a much larger chain of authors writing in Romanian. He had his followers, too. **Stephen Istvánházi** copied another Romanian Metrical Psalter at the **Kendeffy residence** in the village of **Râu de Mori**, also in **Hatseg** (1703).*

V.A.

A

1

SOLTARI-
LYE ALUJ
SZFUNT DA-
VID KRAY
SI PROROK

Szkrife hu a sutoria hu
Dumnyerzou, in Luo de
Mor. Anno Domini nos-
tri Iesu Christi 1703.
in Kanya Sinptyiti
Supunyezi Kendeffi
Janosze gyela.



Styefan Istvanhazy

Stephen Istvánházi

Psaltire

Psalter

manuscript

Râu de Mori, 1703

Biblioteca Academiei

Române, Filiala Cluj-Napoca

Soltarilye aluj Szfunt David Kray si Prorok szkrisze ku ajutoria luj Dumnyerzou, in Riu de Mori. Anno Domini nostri Jesu Christi 1703 in Kurtya Sinsztyityi jupunyeszi Kendeffi Janosoje gyselá Styéfán Istvánházi

Cota Ms. u. 579

Gherman 1973, p. 179-191;

Manuscripts 1997, p. 120;

Pantaleoni 2008.

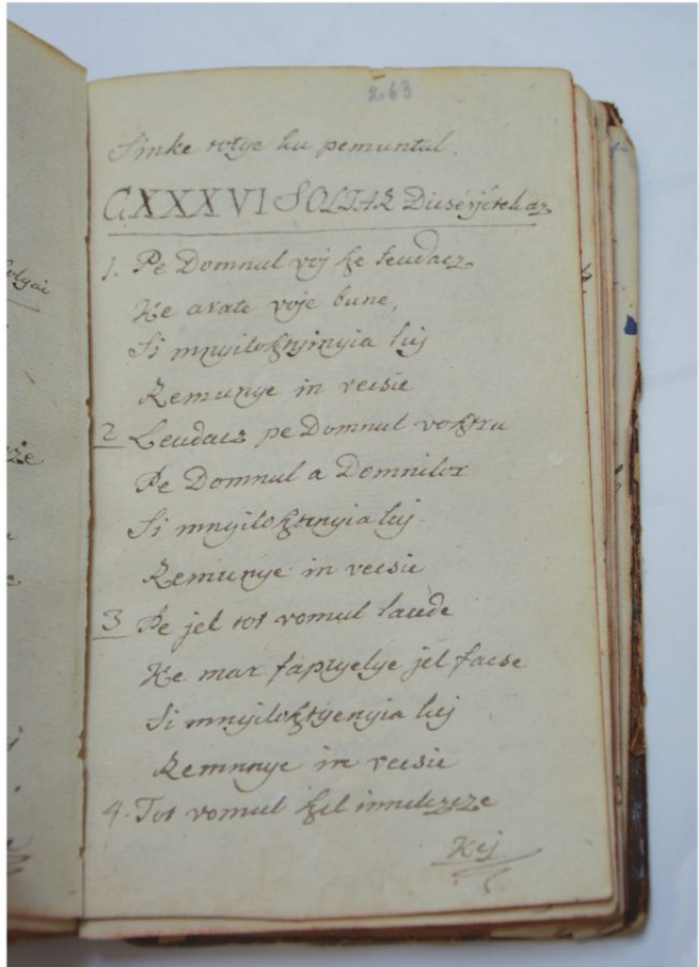
[180] p., with numbering in pencil on every other leaf, resulting in 360 pages.

In octavo (18,5 x 12 cm), text written in the Romanian language in Latin script, brown ink. Save for the linear frame with some floral ornaments and the vignette on the title page, there are no other decorative elements.

The manuscript is bound in marbled paper over cardboard, with leather spine and corners. There are five decorative panes on the spine, with floral elements.

Good overall state of conservation, with some wear, humidity stains and minor woodworm bore holes. Some leather flakes are missing from the spine and a few pages are loose from the binding.

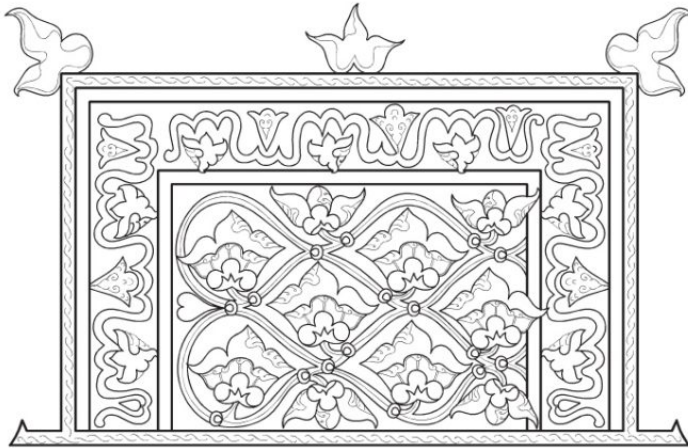
Annotations: On the front cover: Kez. 579. On the first flyleaf, a stamp bearing the text UNITARIUS KOLLÉGIUM KÖNYVTÁRA KOLOS-VÁRT. Second flyleaf: Kez. 1133. Shelfmarks D 5 H, V. IV. 19, V. II. 4, 56. I. ii. Title page: 1769. On the verso of the title page: *Est Danielis Sz[...].ivani* [?].





*It is hard to navigate the maze of these countless Metrical Psalters. The Romanian Calvinist Psalters followed the pattern of a Hungarian, metrical one – **Psalterium Hungaricum** – by Albert Szenci Molnár (1607). Molnár imitated the **German Metrical Psalter** of Ambrosius Lobwasser (1573). As for this German version, it followed in the footsteps of the **French Huguenot Psalter**, and it played a fundamental role in spreading the tradition of Metrical Psalters throughout Europe. Lobwasser's German Psalter was the source of several translations during those times: Czech (1587, Jiří Strejc Zabrezsky), Latin (1596, Andre Spethe), Romansh – a Romance language spoken by a small group of speakers in the Alps – (1661, Lawrence Wietezl, and 1666, Jacques Vulpus), Danish (anonymous, 1662), as well as in many other languages. Such was the context of the Romanian and Hungarian Metrical Psalters.*

V.A.

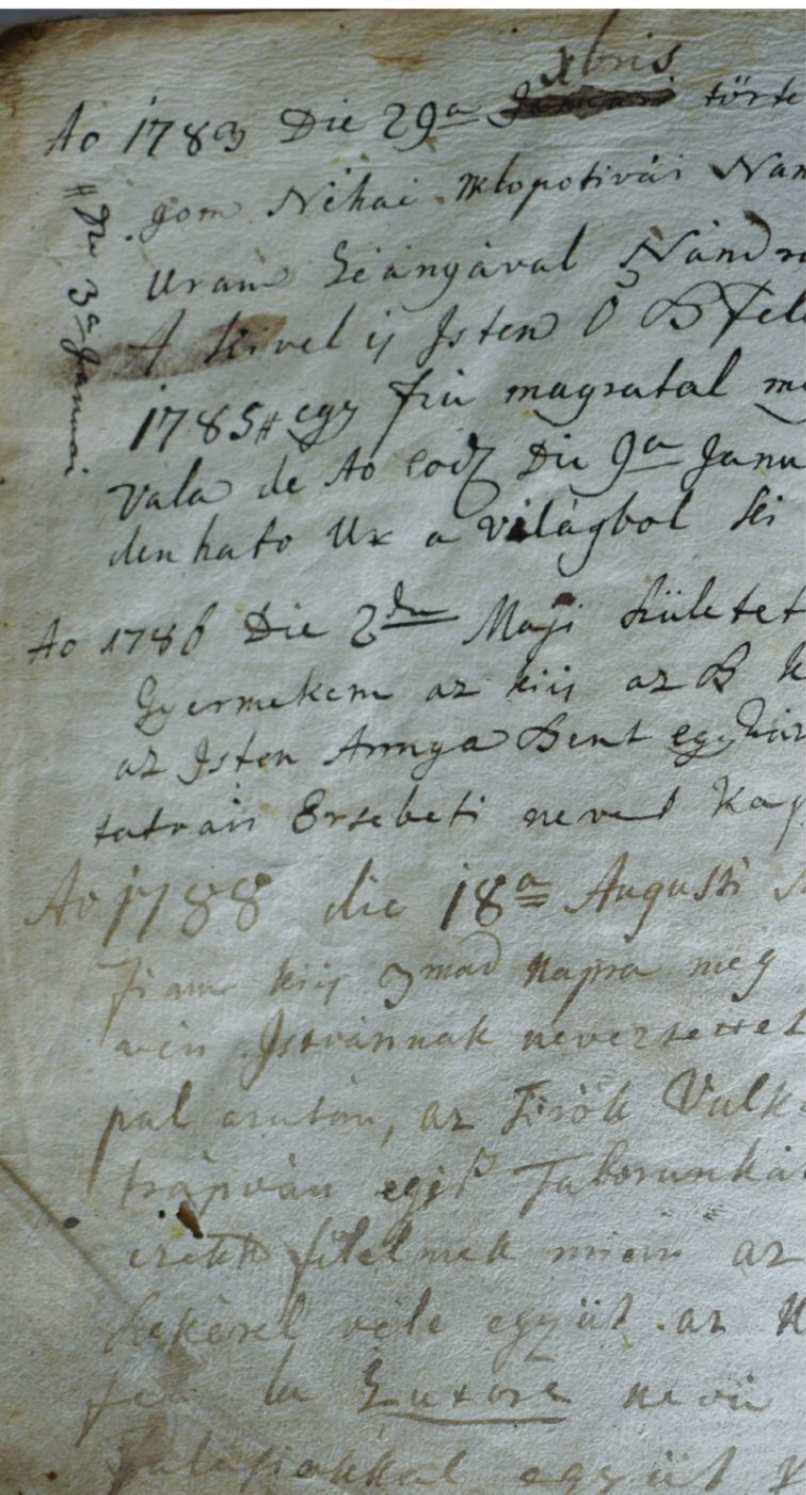


*Psalm 150 in Albert Szenci Molnár's
Psalterium Hungaricum (1607):*

Dicsérjétek az Urat,
Áldjátok ő szent voltát,
Dicsérjétek mennyekben,
Hol országol kegyessen
Az ő nagy dicsőségében,
Dicsérjétek hatalmát,
Mellyből ő dicső voltát
Minden veheti eszében.

Dicsérjétek őt kürtben
És ékes éneklésben,
Hegedőben, lantokban
És hangos citerákban
Az Úrnak zengedezzetek:
Sípokban, virginákban
És hangos orgonákban
Örvendjete az Istennek.

Az Urat cimbalmokban
És egyéb szerszámokban
Mindnyájan dicsérjétek,
Citerát pengessetek,
Az Úrnak nevét dicsérvén,
És minden lelkes állat
Dicsérje az nagy Urat,
Dicsőség Istennek, Ámen.
Vége az zsoltároknak.



Szenci Molnár Albert

Szent Davidnac soltári

Psalter of David the Prophet

Hannoviae, 1608

Biblioteca Documentară

“Bethlen Gábor”, Aiud

[1] Szent Biblia, az az Istennek Ó es Új Testamentomanac prophetac es apostoloc által megíratott szent könyvei. Magyar nyelvre fordítatott egészen, az Istennek Magyarországbán való anya szent egyházának épülésére. Caroli Gaspar előjárószédével. Ez második kinyomtatást igazgatta, néhol megis jobbitotta Szenci Molnár Albert. [2] Szent Davidnac Soltári az Franciái notaknac es verseknek módgyokra magyar versekre fordítatác és rendeltette az Szenci Molnár Albert által. Hanoviában Nyomtatott MDCVIII [1608] esztendőben. [3] Kis catechismus, avagy az keresztyen hitre való tanításnak rövid formája. Hanoviában MDCVIII [1608] Halbejus, Levinus Hulszius örökösinek költségével [Frankfurt am Main]

Cota Hung. 16

RMK, I, 411-412; RMNY, II, 971

P. 1-6, 9-10, 7-8, 11-22, 33-34 (fragments), 35-588 + 224 p. + 194 p. [186!] + 254 p. + 70 p.; foliation errors. There are 12 pages missing from the beginning, p. 23-32 from the first numbered section and the last 9 pages from the last numbered section.

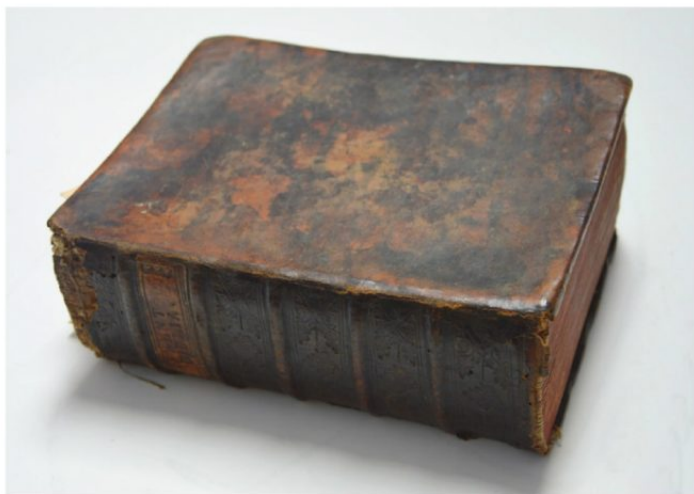
In folio (24 x 18 cm), black typeface in Latin script, two columns of 62 lines per page. There are some decorative features such as initials, vignettes and frontispieces. The volume is bound in leather over cardboard; the covers are not decorated. The spine features five

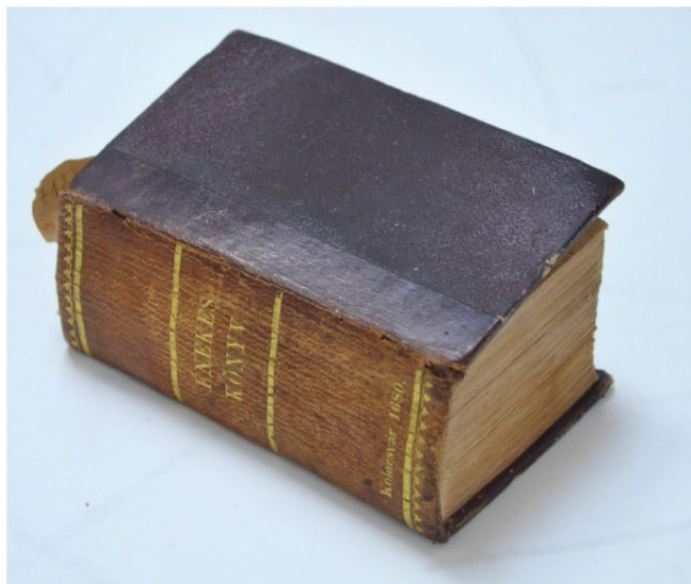
decorative panels between bands, framing a label with the title of the book.

The overall conservation state is good, with some wear and humidity stains, additions of paper slips, minor traces of woodworm bore holes.

Annotations: The flyleaf 1^r bears handwritten notes in Hungarian, dating from 1791, 1793, and 1816. The second flyleaf, 2^r, has the inscription *Székely Ferenczé 1862*. On several pages there is a stamp mark bearing the text *BETHLEN FŐISCOLA könyvtára*. Other annotations can be found: on page 544 (in the first numbered section): *Nicolaus Pagany 1771 die 6 iulij*; page 224 (in the second numbered section): *Pagany Josef de Clopotivai 17[...]*; on the blank page between the third and fourth numbered sections: a Latin manuscript note from 1834. The blank page between the fourth and fifth numbered sections bears the inscription: *Pagany Josef de Clopotivai Anno 1762 [...]*. The flyleaf 3^v has various manuscript notes in Hungarian, dated 1783, 1786, and 1788 respectively.

The initial "F" can be found on page 16 in the first numbered section, and the digitised copy from the Hungarian Academy in Budapest has the initial "E", though the two volumes are different.





Szenci Molnár Albert

Szent David Kiralynak es prophetanak Szaz Otven Soltari

The 150 Psalms of David the King and Prophet

Cluj, 1681

Biblioteca Centrală
Universitară "Lucian Blaga",
Cluj-Napoca



Szent David kiralynak es prophetanak szaz otven soltari, a franciai noták szerint magyar versekre forditattak Molnár Albert által. Kolosvaratt, Veresegyhazi Szentyei Mihaly által, MDCLXXXI [1681]

Cota BMV 7123/II

RMK, I, 1261

349 p. + [11] p.

Volume in duodecimo (12,5 x 7 cm), black typeface in Latin script, single text block of 32 lines per page and music staves. Some engraved ornaments, frontispieces and vignettes.

The binding is made in paper over cardboard with leather spine and cover corners. The spine presents gilded floral ornaments and the text *ÉNEKES KÖNYV. Kolosvár 1680*.

Good overall conservation state, with some wear and minor traces of woodworm bore holes.

Annotations: On the second and on the last unnumbered page, a stamp bearing the text *Erdélyi Múzeum könyvtára*.

Observations: Bound together with two other titles printed in Cluj in 1680-1681.

AZ 7128

SZ. DAVID PROPH.

TANAK ékes Szóismusa

SOLTARIVAL

ÉS

A SOLTAROKBÓL

Szeresztetett

DICSIRETEKKEL,

S^o egyéb

Istene ENEKEKKEL,

ÉS HYMNUSOKKAL

tolyes Könyv.

Ezek után vannak egy néhány

áitatos Imádságok.

Melly most apobban, egy néhány

Halott Enekekkel, és egyéb Istene

Enekekkel és Imádságokkal

meg-bővítettett.

1680

KOLOSVARATT,

VERESEGYHAZI Szentyei

MIHALY, 1680.



Tofeüs Mihály

**A Szent Soltárok
resolutioja**Interpretation of the
Holy Psalms

Cluj, 1683

Biblioteca Documentară
"Bethlen Gábor", Aiud

A Szent Soltárok resolutioja, es azoknak az Erdelyi fejedelmi Evangelica Reformata, udvari szent ecclesiara, lelek es igassag szerint valo szabasa. Meg ércs a mit mondok, adgyon az Úr tenéked értelmet mindenekben, 2 Tim. 2 v. 7. Ki nyomtatattott, a Fejedelmi Méltóságok parancsolattyaúl s. Költségével. Kolosvaratt, 1683 esztendőben.

Cota Hung. 35

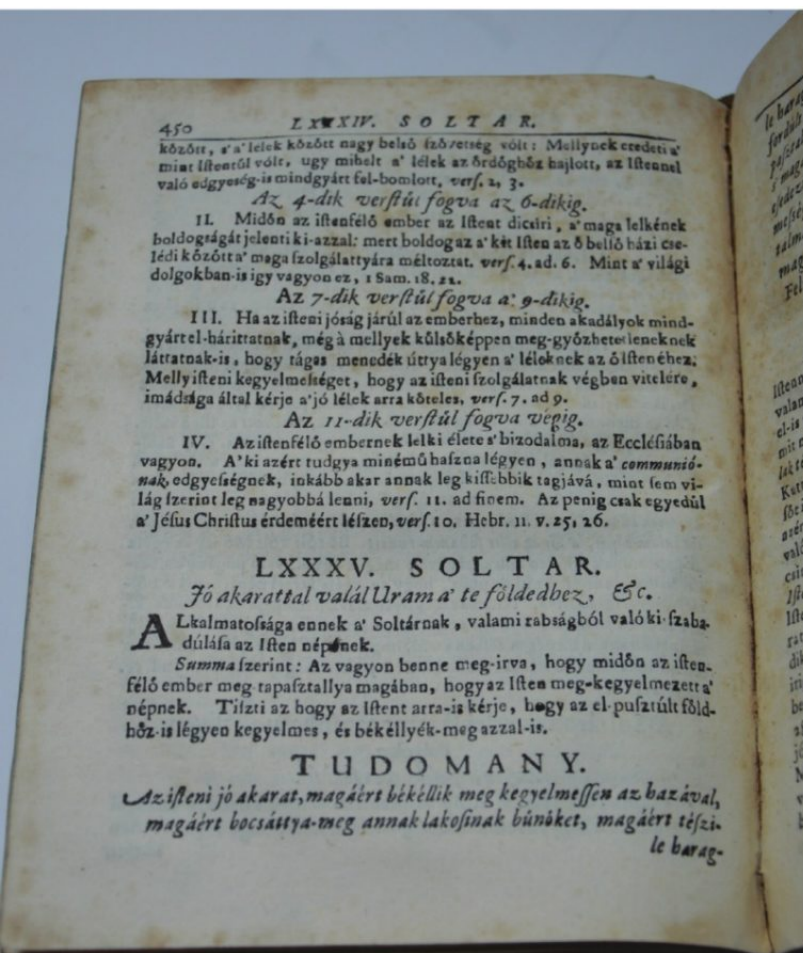
RMK, I, 1302

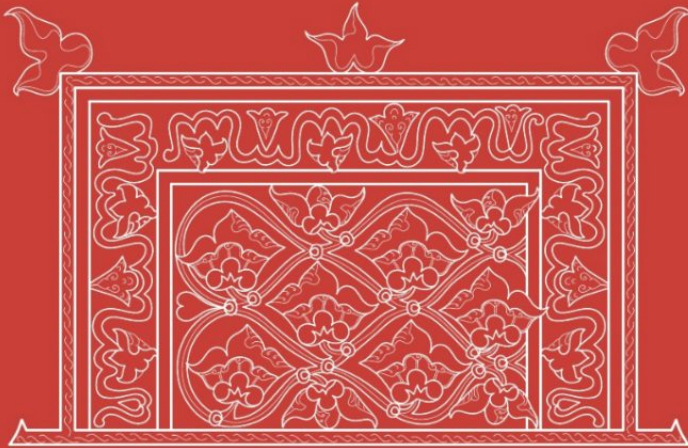
[3] p. + p. 1-16, 21-24, 17-20, 25-876 [868!], with foliotation errors: from p.323 there is a skip to p.333, and pp.744-745 are repeated.

Volume in quarto, black typeface in Latin script with a single text block of 36 lines per page. Decoration elements such as initials, frontispieces and a frame on the title page. The volume is bound in leather over cardboard; the covers are decorated with linear frames with floral elements. The front cover has the initials P. A. and the year 1684 (probably the name of the owner and the year of the binding). One of the leather straps is still present, and the edges of the text block are painted blue.

The overall conservation state is good, some wear, humidity and foxing marks, as well as traces of woodworm bore holes.

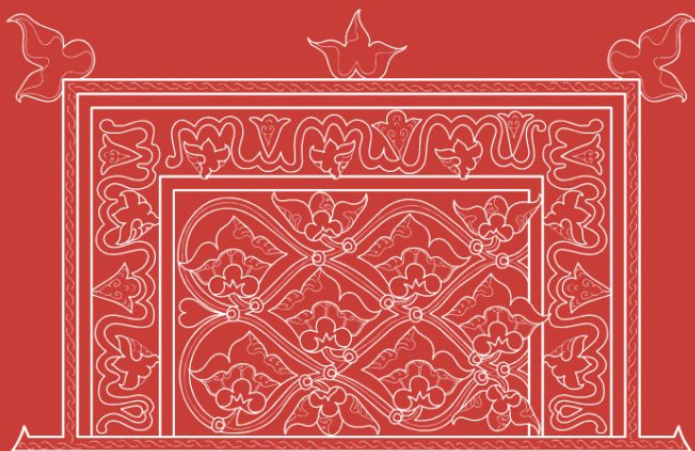
Annotations: On the front cover: the *Ex Libris* mark of one Mikó Imre. Several pages bear a stamp mark with the text *BETHLEN FÖISKOLA könyvtára*. On the flyleaf 1^r: a Hungarian manuscript text dated November 27, 1684. On the title page: an ownership sign with the date August 16, 1687.





Töfői Mihály (Michael Tophaeus) was one of the most important theologians of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the 17th century. Born in 1624 and deceased in 1684, he studied at Debrecen, Utrecht, and Leiden, where he defended his doctoral thesis. As Preacher of the Princely Court in 1655, and as superintendent starting with 1679, Töfői Mihály became one of the most energetic supervisors of the Romanian Church, following the hard line imposed in 1640 by his predecessor, Geleji István. Töfői's zeal turned to real aggression between 1679-1680. He then managed to remove from his chair the Metropolitan Sava Brancović. After his trip to Russia, and because of the open support he received from Wallachia, Brancović had become the bastion of Orthodox conservatism.

A.D.



The Unitarian Confession (anti-trinitarian) was the last offspring of Protestantism to have obtained the status of recognized religion in Transylvania. Theoretically, all four confessions which received this recognition (Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism) enjoyed the same freedom of expression. Nevertheless, the Unitarians often fell victim to the power struggles of those days. This situation is best reflected by the limited number of books they printed in the 17th century. Unitarian books could only be published with the Calvinist superintendent's approval.

A.D.

Enyedi György,

***Az ó es vy testamentvm-
beli helyeknek***
The Old and the New
Testament

Cluj, 1619

Biblioteca Documentară
“Bethlen Gábor”, Aiud

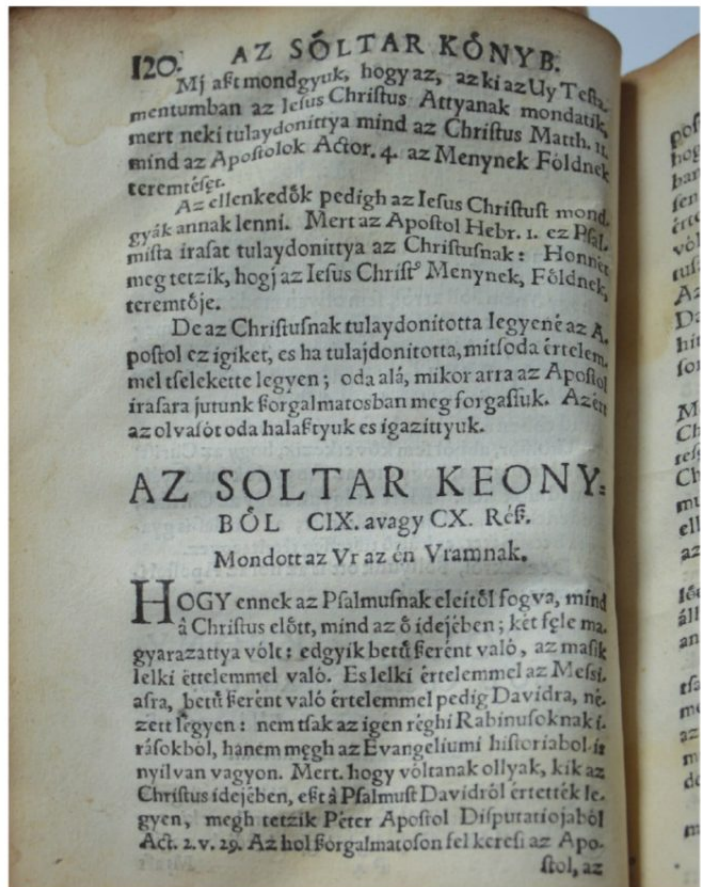
Az ó es vy testamentvm-beli helyeknek, melyekből az Háromsagról való tudománt szokták állatni, magyarázattyok. Enyedi Gyeorgy, Erdély Országában az egy Atya Isten, es az o Sz. Fia, az Iesus Christus felől, Sz. Lelek által ki adatott tudományaban egygezö Ecclesiáknak Püspöke által Deák nyelven iratott. Es annak-utánna Torozkai Mátetöl Vgyan azon Ecclesiáknak Püspökétöl Magyar nyelvre fordittatott. Colosvarban 1619. Nyomtattatott Makai Niyro Iános által.

Cota Hung. 51

RMK, I, 494; RMNY, II, 1187

725 p. [726!] + [40] p., with foliation errors. The first and last 14 pages are missing. The volume is bound in quarto, (18,5 x 15 cm). The text is printed in black typeface and Latin script, in a single block of text of 32 lines per page. Few decorations: some floral elements, two frontispieces and one vignette. The volume is bound in leather over cardboard; the covers are decorated with a series of linear frames completed by floral ornaments. There are traces of two leather strap fastenings. The volume is fairly well preserved; some wear marks are present, as well as some humidity stains and woodworm bore holes. The first pages are only partially preserved and some fragments of the spine cover are missing.

Inscriptions: Front cover: Latin, handwritten text by a Daniel Kiraly [?]. P. 1: *Samuelis* [...] *Sze-merjai* [?]. P. 3, 101: A stamp bearing the text *BETHLEN FÖISKOLA könyvtára*.





Szatmár-Némethi Mihály

Sz. Dávid Psalteriuma

St David's Psalter

Cluj, 1679

Biblioteca Județeană Mureș

– Biroul Colecției Speciale.

Biblioteca Teleki,

Târgu-Mureș

Sz. Dávid Psalteriuma avagy a CL. sóltároknak rövid el-osztása, magyarázattya, s' azokból származot 550. Tudományok által való meg-világosítása Mellyet irt, Nemethi Mihály a' Colosv. Orth. Eccl. m. L. P. Colosv. Veresegyházi Mihály által, 1679.

Cota BO-22527

RMK, I, 1234;

Catalog Teleki, III, p. 170

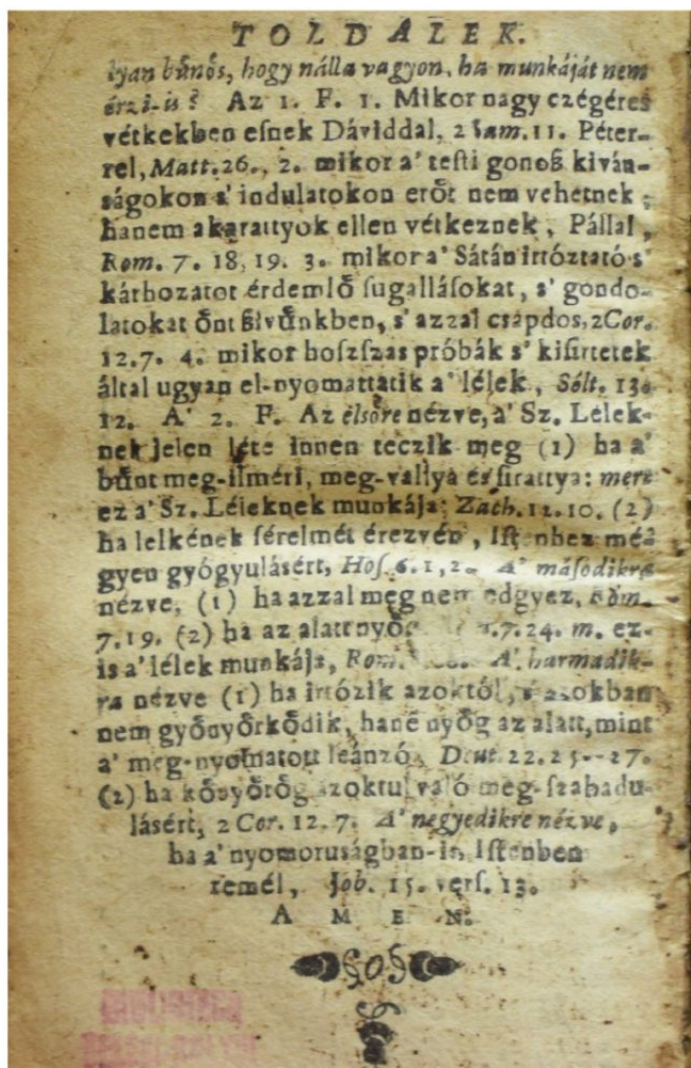
[10] f. + 649p. + [1] p.

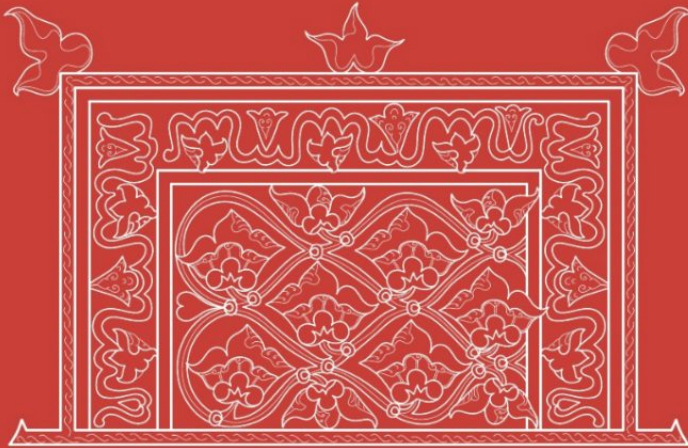
In duodecimo (13 x 7 cm), black typeface in Latin script, single block of text of 32 lines per page. Some printed decorative elements such as frontispieces, vignettes, and the engraving on the title page.

The volume is bound in leather over cardboard; the covers are decorated with a triple linear frame inside which, in every corner, feature floral compositions and a central, floral, medallion. The front edge is coloured.

Good overall conservation state, with some wear and minor woodworm bore holes.

Annotations: On the first cover: the *ex libris* card of the Reformed College of Târgu-Mureș has been removed, under which are the following manuscript property marks: N. Sz(ent) Királyi 1679; Samuel Sz. Királyi 1719, Colleg. Ref. Mvásárhelly 1740. On the following three blank pages features a manuscript note dated 28 august (?) 1698.





*The intricate story of these metrical versions becomes clearer when we consider that most of them derived from the **French Huguenot Psalter**, that is, the source text of Lobwasser's **German Psalter**. The **French Huguenot Psalter** inspired many other versions too: the **Reformed Italian Psalter** (after 1554), the Spanish version published by Juan Pérez de Pineda (1557), Thomas Sternhold's **English Metrical Psalms** (1556-1561), the **Gascon Psalms** of Pèy de Garròs (1565), the Dutch version of Pieter Datheen (1566), and even the **Polish Psalms** of Jan Kochanowski (1579).*

V.A.



*As it happens, Kochanowski's Polish text was the source of inspiration of another Romanian version, this time in Moldavia. Metropolitan Dosoftei had no direct connection with Protestantism, he only borrowed the idea of translating the Psalter into verse, and published this **Metrical Psalter** in 1673. Some of his metrical psalms entered folklore and were sung as carols. They were still sung in the time of Anton Pann, who collected them in 1830.*

V.A., A.D.

Dosoftei

Psaltirea în versuri The Metrical Psalter

Uniev Monastery, 1673

Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă
a Alba Iuliei

Psaltire a Sfântului Proroc David pre limba rumânească cu dzâsa și cu toată cheltuiala prea luminatului întru I[su]s H[risto]s Io Ștefan Petru Voevoda D[o]mnul Țărei Moldovei. Din s[fi]nte scripturi a s[fi]nților Părinți Dascalilor s[fi]nte besearici, cu lungă oste-neală în mulță ai socotită și cercată prin s[fi]nte cărți și diacia pre verșuri tocmită în cinci ai foarte cu osărdie mare, de smeritul Dosothei Mitropolitul de Țara Moldovei. V monastiru Unevskom typom. Izobrazisea leata ot sotvorei sveat 7181.

Nr. inv. cv 2211

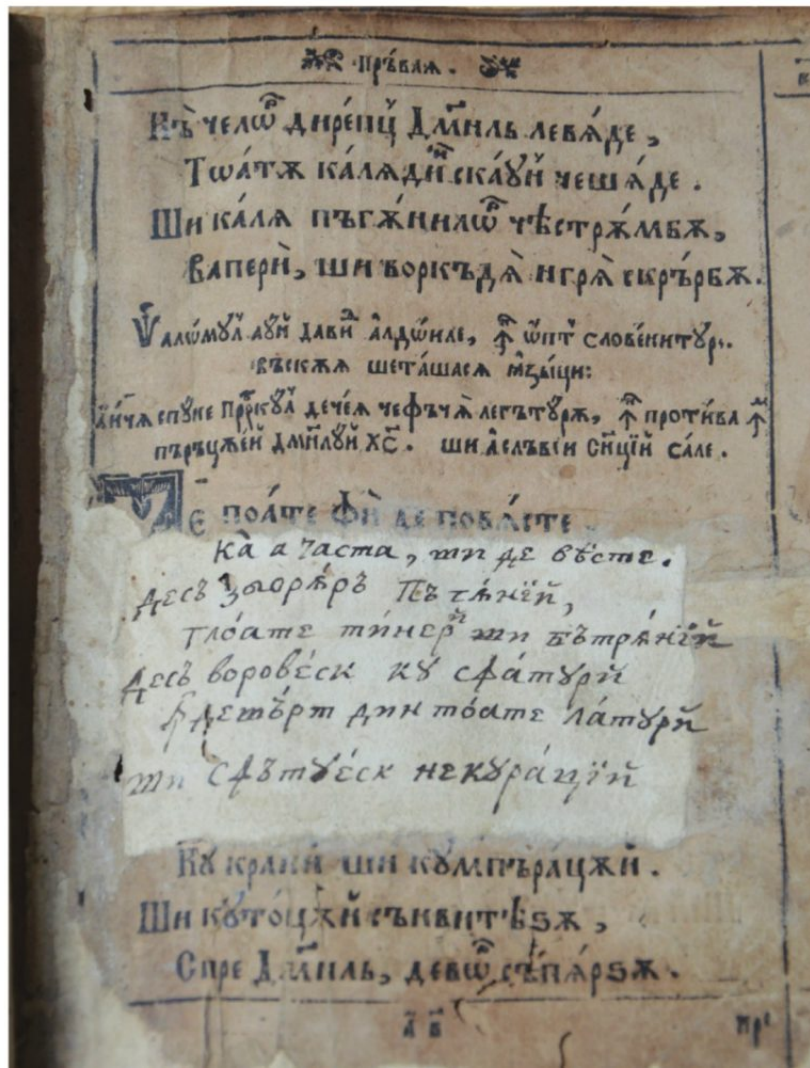
BRV, I, 65; BRV, IV, 65; Buicliu 2000, p. 180-183; BRVAC, 127; *Psaltirea* 1974.

Mârza, Dreghiciu 1989, p. 122-123.

P. 2-251; p. [6] + pp. 252-258 + [1] p. are missing, replaced with manuscript pages.

In quarto (19,5 x 16 cm), in black and red typeface, Cyrillic script and three case sizes. Text in a single block of 18 lines per page, framed by a linear edge. Some decoration in the guise of some initials, vignettes and frontispieces.

The volume is bound in leather



УАЛТІРЕ.

А сфінтѣлѣи Пророк Давид .
Пре лѣтѣа рѣчѣнѣскѣ, кѣ зѣса шѣ
кѣ поатѣ кѣслѣѣла .

Пра лѣтѣнѣа сфінтѣлѣи рѣчѣ Ісус Христос
Іс Стефан Пѣтрѣ Воевѣда цѣрѣи
Молдовѣи .

Ани сфінтеле Скриптѣрѣи а сфінтѣлѣи Пѣ
рѣицѣи Аскалѣлѣи Сфінтѣи Бесѣрѣицѣи ,
кѣ лѣнѣтѣ сѣстѣнѣлѣи рѣчѣлѣи Ани Скорѣи
тѣ шѣ геркѣтѣи при сфінтеле кѣрѣицѣи ,
шѣ дѣ рѣицѣи пре вѣрѣсѣрѣи тогѣицѣи рѣицѣи
Ани Зѣарте кѣ сѣсѣрдѣе тѣре , де Сте
рѣицѣи Досѣѣи Митрополѣицѣи де
Цѣра Молдовѣи .

У Монастѣрѣи Оунивескѣи
Пѣтѣрѣицѣи ла рѣхот . 1673.

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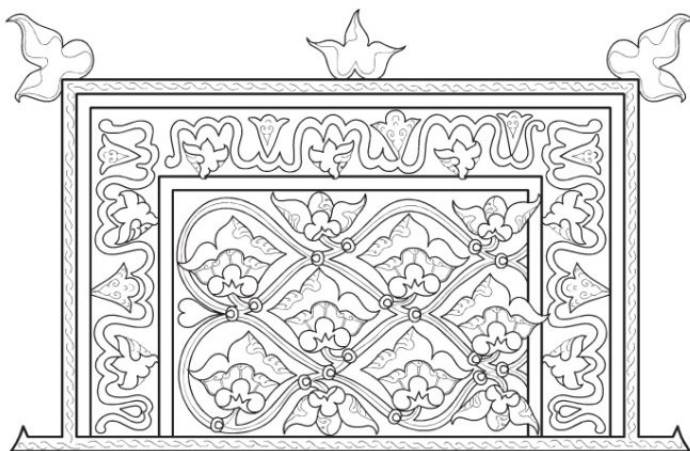


over wood boards; the first cover is decorated with a linear frame having some floral and vegetal patterns. The two original clasps are preserved.

The overall state of conservation is relatively good, with some wear, leather flaking, humidity and wax stains, woodworm bore holes, and traces of paper patching.

Annotations: First cover: Alexander Mozorek xvi, Neu-mayrgasse No 2. A Struth Wien ix Währingerg. N. 17. Flyleaf: Amintire din Wien în anul Domnului Mântuitor al nostru Isus Christos 1909 Iunie 2/15. Psaltirea Prorocului și împăratului Davidu iaste a preotului Georgye Fellya din Ciuruleasa. Scris-am eu robul domnului Septemvrie 28 1869 Av. Anca cantorul Soharu. P. 49-53: Aceasta carte este a popi[i] Indriu și cine o ar fura să fie afurisit. P. 171: Această carte este [...] Simion Popovici Egerescu [?] 1789. P. 251: S-au tipărit la anul 1673.





Psalm 150 in the Huguenot Psalter of Geneva (1539-1562), a verse adaptation by Theodore Beza, published by Calvin:

Or soit loüé l'Eternel
De Son saint lieu supernel:
Soit di-je, tout hautement
Loué de ce firmament
Plein de Sa magnificence.
Loüez-Le tous Ses grands faits:
Soit loüé de tant d'effets,
Tesmoins de Son excellence.

The Literary Status of the Metrical Psalters

Alin-Mihai Gherman

'December 1st 1918' University,
Alba Iulia

Metrical Psalters should be considered as a significant phenomenon in European culture in spite of the fact that certain of these works sparked less interest in the various national contexts.¹ The versified works of **Clément Marot** and **Theodore Beza** in French, of **Petrarch** and **Pietro Aretino** in Italian, of **John Milton** in English, of **Jan Kochanowski** in Polish, **Albert Szenci Molnár** in Hungarian or of **Dosoftei** in Romanian - all have enjoyed a special interest only to the extent that they made a significant contribution to the development of the respective national literatures. French literary historians often speak of the poets from the 16th and 17th centuries as being both Christians and poets ("*poètes autant que chrétiens*").² This idea may be applied, more or less explicitly, to various national contexts across Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, no study on this type of literature exists, one that contextualizes the Romanian metrical Psalters, nor was their literary status discussed.³

Moreover, if we are to look at **Dosoftei's Psaltirea în versuri** [Metrical Psalter], opinions differ. Nicolae Cartoian states that it is a translation in Romanian verse; the official *History of Romanian Literature* indicates the probability of it being first Psalter translated in prose by Dosoftei and the resulting text versified at a later stage. Alexandru Andriescu mentions in his introductory study of **Dosoftei** that the translation was done directly in versified form, and George Ivașcu concurs that the text was directly translated in verse from Old Church Slavonic. The more nuanced analysis is that of Sextil Pușcariu who identifies **Dosoftei's** verse Psalms as the first Romanian initiative of the kind, although it was far from being a novel idea.⁴

Therefore, a first obstacle in the analysis of Metrical Psalters is the establishment of the literary status of the text. The Hebrew Psalms were in and of themselves a specific literary genre; as they were sung, they had a rhyming pattern that had to follow the melodic line and were held to formulaic structures pertaining to the orality of religious hymns with elements such as antitheses, parallels, and repetitions.

Notes

¹ Several passages of this article have been previously published in Gherman 2008.

² Stegmann 1978, p. 155.

³ As far as French is concerned, it is worth mentioning Bovet 1872; Doruen 1878-1879; Becker 1920; Leblanc 1960; Jeanneret 1969; Lewalski 1979. For English, see Young 1909. For German, see Bach, Galle 1989. For more recent bibliography, see Ferrer, Mantero 2006; Gœury 2016. For a preliminary inventory of Psalm translations, see also Noailly 2006. For a discussion concerning the conflict between the two aspects (literary and devotional) of the biblical paraphrase, see Mésoniat 2001. In Romanian scholarship, Pop 1944, p. 10-26, dresses a very summary inventory of the European verse paraphrases.

⁴ For all these ideas see, respectively, Cartoian 1980, p. 203; Istoria 1970, p. 410; Andriescu 1978, p. xxxi; Ivașcu 1969, p. 201; Pușcariu 1930, p. 123-124.

Many of these elements are respected and reproduced in translation for the evident reason of the linguistic taboo of altering the biblical text. These elements were a good model of literary rhetoric that could be used in homiletics, but their observance in translations was less based upon artistic intentions than on the idea of respect for the holy, and therefore unalterable, text.⁵ But there are other nuances to be taken into account as well.

From late Antiquity onwards, paraphrase had become a way to rewrite and explain a text that was less accessible to the reader either because of its content or because of its archaic language.⁶ This was a widespread method in Hellenistic mannerism as a literary fashion through which replicas of consecrated works were made, sometimes becoming a stylistic exercise. Many patristic comments dedicated to the biblical text prove to be actual paraphrases. Saint Augustine for instance paraphrases the book of Genesis, or Galatians.⁷ As far as the Psalms are concerned, he rewrites them into *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (c. 388-396). These circulated in the Romanian context in either manuscript or printed form as the *Psaltirea regelui David prece scurt* [The abridged Psalter of King David]. In the Eastern Patristic tradition there is also a paraphrase of the Psalms, made by Saints John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria. But paraphrase was also used throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.⁸ There were certain periods in which the paraphrase was more or less fashionable, due to the need to present a text in an accessible form or to suit a stylistic trend supported by an artistic current (such as the Baroque).⁹

It is thus appropriate to consider that the metrical Psalters are not

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⁵ See Gáldi 1971, who thinks that “the first translations of biblical texts drew both from certain resonances of the folk verse and from literary effects based on parallelism; they were still lacking – and it could not have been otherwise, given the Greek-Slavonic models – the application of the isosyllabic principle in the field of mainstream poetry” (“*primele traduceri ale textelor biblice au valorificat atât anumite sonorități ale versului popular, cât și efecte bazate pe paralelism; lipsa încă – și nici nu putea fi altfel, având în vedere modelele greco-slavone – aplicarea principului izosilabismului și în domeniul poeziei culte*”). He notes however the rhymed clausulae in certain passages of Coresi’s 1577 *Psaltirea slavo-română* [Slavonic-Romanian Psalter], believing that “parallelism is achieved from an expressively used anaphora” (“*paralelismul se realizează pe efectul expresiv al anaferei*”); Gáldi 1971, p. 67.

⁶ For our modern texts, *paraphrase* may refer either to a translation which is not precise (John van Campen: *Paraphrastica interpretatio in Psalmos omnes & Ecclesiasten iuxta Hebraicam veritatem quam proxime*

accedens, Nuremberg, 1532) as well as to an *ennarratio* (Erasmus of Rotterdam). The originary Greek word *παράφρασις* meant “additional manner of expression”. A *paraphrase* explains or otherwise clarifies the text. It need not be accompanied by a direct quote, as it could shift to a text very different from the original. Its intended purpose is to clarify the original text in a new formulation. Contrary to the *metaphrase*, representing a formal equivalent of the source text, the *paraphrase* offers a dynamic equivalent thereof. While the former alters the texts by means of synonymy, the latter endeavours to present the meaning of the text. Although linguistically different, both processes have been complementary literary means of producing a new text since Antiquity and until Early Modern times.

⁷ *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim* (c.393-394); *Expositio epistolae ad Galatas* (c.394-395).

⁸ For the Middle Ages (and for the Medieval Latin literature in particular), see Nazzaro 2001, Stotz 2005 and most of all Orth 2007. Cf. Lobrichon

2001, for whom the medieval paraphrases and adaptations of the sacred text in vernacular languages are inspired by the Medieval Latin literature of the cathedral schools. For later periods, the most notable paraphrases are those that Erasmus of Rotterdam composed for the great majority of the biblical books, and especially for the New Testament.

⁹ See for this Anghelescu, Bogdan 1970, who define it as an: “1. Amplified exposition or explanatory development of a text’s content. 2. Verse imitation of a biblical passage” (“1. *Expunere amplificată sau dezvoltare explicativă a conținutului unui text. 2. Imitație în versuri a unui pasaj biblic*”). Cf. Cuddon, Habib 2013, p. 638, who define it as “a version in other words of the sense of any passage or text. It may be a free rendering or amplification of a passage. As Dryden put it: ‘translation with latitude where the author is kept in view, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense’. Paraphrase is often used nowadays in re-writing technical books and articles in language which the layman can understand”.

translations *per se*. The evidence provided by the cases of **Theodore Beza** and **Dosoftei** reveal that they both printed a prose and a verse Psalter. Moreover, in the case of the Moldavian Metropolitan, his translation was printed together with an Old Church Slavonic text that was proven not to be the source of the versified text. The notion of “versification”, used in many literatures, does not in any way define the literary quality of the text. The studies dedicated to their musical aspect use the term “metrical Psalms”, a term that defines more the technical way of establishing the text rather than the literary status of the text. The most appropriate term seems then to be the verse paraphrase.

But the paraphrase was a way to rewrite a text either for its explanation or for highlighting some of its aspects.¹⁰ The term *paraphrasis*, used in Hellenistic Greek since the 1st century BC, was concurrent for a while with the term *metaphrasis*; it entered classical Latin in the 3rd century BC. The term was used throughout the Middle Ages, but was ultimately consecrated by **Erasmus of Rotterdam**’s Bible paraphrases,¹¹ and by the key figures of the Reformation, such as **Martin Luther**, **John Calvin**, **Philip Melancthon**, **Theodore Beza**, but also by many representatives of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The spread of the paraphrasing process was also facilitated by its use by the Holy Fathers in the interpretation of the Holy Scripture, which resulted in a long tradition of biblical exegesis.

The term paraphrase, accepted by musical aesthetics, involves the transposition of a song into another range or rhythm. Musical paraphrases are judged according to their artistic value and only to a small extent according to the paraphrased text. In literary theory, the term *paraphrase* is less used because of its ambiguity, but also because of the use of this process in a caricatural sense (thus receiving a pejorative connotation). The term was entirely disregarded during the positivist approach to the history and theory of literature, which was primarily an analysis of the content and only ancillary of the form, being often substituted by the improper terms of adaptation or caricature replica.

In sacred languages, in paraphrase or in translation, the Psalms have exerted a great influence on the spirituality of believers since the beginnings of Christianity due to the direct expression of a large array of feelings, from the formulation of absolute belief in the power of God and the affirmation of the superiority and prosperity of the faithful to the expression of despondency and even despair over tribulations of life. Evidence of this is the recurrence of citation of the Psalms both in Orthodox and Western liturgy. On the other hand, the various Psalms generously offered suggestions for an endless supply of medieval hymns, which came out of the scope of the actual homily and were part of the everyday life of Christian communities.

The first metric paraphrases of the Psalms were made either from the desire to find a presentation consistent with the tradition of classical Greco-Latin literature (**Apollinarius** or **St. Paulinus of Nola**)¹² or, as is the case of the *Gnostic Psalter* of **Bardesanes** and **Honorius**,¹³ they were deliberately written with the purpose of strengthening the faith and personal devotion.

Furthermore, it is difficult to make a distinction between the Psalm-inspired hymns where the biblical text only offers the suggestion of a literary development of elements, and the metaphorical paraphrases, which were, in a way, a “vulgarisation” and an explanation of the Psalms text, filled with many obscure elements for the undiscerning reader. The prose

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10 Moldovanu 1997, p. 91-92, also analyses one of our literary comments where we present a specific type of a Romanian translation in rhetoric verse of Matthew of Myra, or of Pogoniani (1642), as well as the text *Pravila aleasă* of Eustratie Logofătul (1632). Dragoș Moldovanu states that they belong to the realm of paraphrase, as a rhetoric exercise of transposing prose to verse and vice-versa, beginning in the first century and continuing thereafter in the West as well as in Byzantine Empire. Taking this literary concept into account, it is worth asking whether the explanation is also valid for the *Pravila aleasă* of Eustratie Logofătul, where we are dealing with an original text in prose (*Predoslovie*) and the loose translation of Matthew of Myra (the original being in verse) in *Învățătură preste toate zilele* (Câmpulung, 1642), where we are no longer dealing with adaptations or paraphrases. If the explanation provided by Dragoș Moldovanu is valid, then the question that arises is why is this type of versification linked to a very well defined moment as far as time and place are concerned in Romanian culture (i.e. the first half of the 17th century).

11 See for this Erasmus of Rotterdam: *In quatuor evangelia paraphrasis*; as well as *In acta apostolorum paraphrasis*; *In epistola Pauli apostoli ad Romanos paraphrasis*; *Paraphrasis in epistola S. Pauli ad Galatas et Colosenses*; *Paraphrasis sive enarratio in Epistolas et Evangelia*, etc.

12 Apollinarius and Paulinus of Nola undertook these versified paraphrases of the Psalms maybe out of the need to supply an accessible and familiar form of classical literature, but certainly out of desire to explain their content. For Paulinus of Nola, see Nazzari 1983. This tendency is observed up to the end of the Middle Ages for instance, when Petrarch also undertakes the versification of a few Psalms. For a detailed perspective on the Italian vernacular tradition during the Renaissance, see Pietrobon 2015.

13 For a general presentation, see *The New Grove* 1980, vol. 15, p. 347.

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14 The attitude of other representatives of the German Reformation differs on the topic of congregational songs and implicitly, on the undertaking of versified versions of the Psalms. For instance Ulrich Zwingli, the Swiss Reformation leader, criticised the practice of priestly chanting and monastic choirs. Therefore he refused the use of music and congregational songs in the church (1523).

15 Indirect proof of this is the use of one of Marot's Psalms in the creation of probably sung verses in contexts diverging from religious life. Cf. Petey-Girard 2012, who insists on the poetical aspects of Marot's work and on the relationship with their initial use at the French court. For recent studies on Clément Marot's Psalm renditions, see e. g. Reuben 2000; Garnier-Mathez 2006.

and verse texts of the Seven penitential Psalms (Psalms 6, 32, 35, 51, 102, 129, and 143) played an important role in the devotional life of the West.

In the Middle Ages, both the transformation of a Psalm into a hymn and its paraphrase in verse or prose were more tolerated rather than cultivated by the Church, as they often expressed popular forms of Christian movements that later became embedded in the Catholic Church (e.g. the Franciscans), or excluded, being considered heresies. The Hussite movement in central Europe, and later Wycliffe's Lollard movement in England (both considered heresies and opposed as such), but also many other popular religious movements from the Middle Ages abound in such hymns or metrical renditions of the Psalms. During long pilgrimages a wide variety of hymns and church songs was created - sometimes by anonymous, sometimes by established authors - where the Psalms were adapted to an old song or for which a new melody was composed, and these new creations played an important role.

Jan Hus (in the 14th century) and Martin Luther (in the 16th century) explicitly underlined the importance of the congregational song as a form of manifestation of the community faith, probably because it used more the language of the people rather than Latin. What had been endemic throughout the Western Middle Ages became programmatic through the effort of the father of the Reformation. Luther's ideas took shape soon after the beginning of the Reformation. He printed the first Lutheran choral collection (*Kirchensangs*, Strasbourg, 1524, which included 22 Psalm paraphrases). By 1538, the first complete version (in Latin, however) of a verse paraphrase of the Psalter had also become available in the Lutheran lands.¹⁴

Jean Calvin was one of the strong supporters of the use of music and, in particular, of congregational song in the church. We owe the earliest Calvinist metrical renditions of the Psalms to one of the most important representatives of the Renaissance in French literature, Clément Marot. While he was valet to King Francis the 1st, he completed the first French versified paraphrase of 30 Psalms (Psalms 1-15 and 15 penitential Psalms). Their success was remarkable, as contemporary testimonies point out that, from the high aristocracy to the servants, their singing became a genuine fashion in the French royal court.¹⁵ Taking refuge in Bern after St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, Marot completed the collection with 19

The image shows two pages from a manuscript, likely a psalter. The left page (Fig. 1) contains musical notation on a four-line staff with square neumes. Below the staff is a block of French text in a Gothic script. The right page (Fig. 2) also features musical notation and French text, with a title 'Psalme II.' at the top. The text on both pages appears to be a versified paraphrase of a Psalm.

▼ Figs. 1-2. *Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant*, à Strasbourg 1539, p. 4 and 5. Drawing after an online facsimile.

Psalms and revisions of some of the previous 30 (Figs. 1-2). In 1542, Jean Calvin introduced 42 of the Psalms versified by Marot in his work *La forme des prieres ecclesiastiques: avec sa maniere d'administrer les sacrements & celebrer le mariage, & la visitation des malades*. Starting with 1551 Marot's Psalms enjoyed exceptional popularity; they were completed with versified renditions by another great French scholar of the time, Theodore Beza. The *Pseumes octantetrois de David, mis en rime françoise, a savoir, quaranteneuf par Clement Marot, avec le Cantique de Simeon & les dix Commandemens, et trentequatre par Theodore de Besze, de Vezelay en Bourgogne*, commonly known as *Le Psautier huguenot*, enjoyed great success with the Protestant communities. Between 1551 (the first complete edition of the Huguenot Psalter) and 1564, 44 editions of this text were printed.¹⁶

Meanwhile, in Eastern Europe, the Hungarian Reformation movement also saw the emergence of several variants of the metrical Psalms, the most well-known in the 16th century being that of Szegedi Gergely, whose *Enekeskönyv* [Songbook] was printed in 11 editions. All or part of the Hungarian verse Psalms have been known to have other paraphrases, some of which have been printed, while most of remained in manuscript form for a long time (especially the numerous manuscript copies made in the Transylvanian environment cannot be ignored). Starting with 1604, when Albert Szenci Molnár published the *Specimen Psalterii Ungarici* in Nuremberg, his interpretation of Ambrosius Lobwasser's *German Psalter* (Fig. 3) and possibly indirectly of the Huguenot Psalter was imposed by the Calvinist Church synod and by the authority of the Transylvanian prince as the only version to be used in religious worship. Until 1700, it knew over 30 editions, alongside manuscript copies. Albert Szenci Molnár's Psalter was also translated into Romanian for the use of a group of Romanian converts to the Reformation. Two of these metrical Psalters, John Viski's¹⁷ and Stephen Istvánházi's,¹⁸ have already been presented in this volume. It is therefore no surprise that for a time the geographical extension of the versified Psalms coincided with that of the Reformation, and especially with that of Calvinism.

¹⁶ From this moment on, the European dissemination of the Metrical Psalters loosely follows that of the Reformation, either through Reformed proselytising or through countermeasures taken by the Catholic Church. The Huguenot Psalter was translated into all the languages where this aspect of the Reformation was present; in 1567, Lucas de Heere prints the Dutch version of the Psalms (*Psalms Davids*), and in Dutch still are published the versions of Jan Utenberg (1565) and Petrus Dathenus (1566). In Germany, following the three verse paraphrases of Martin Luther himself in 1524, the famous Meistersinger Hans Sachs publishes his *Dreizehn Psalmen* in 1526. Cf. Burkhardt Waldis, *Der Psalter in neuen Gesangs*, 1533 (all being undertaken in the Lutheran milieu). In 1565 Ambrosius Lobwasser tackles the German version of the Huguenot Psalter (translation loosely based

on the French text, set to the same musical arrangement), published in 1575 with the title *Der Psalter der königlichen Prophet Davids*. This version enjoys such success with the German Calvinists (by 1600 over 70 editions are issued) that the Catholics replied in kind with Kaspar Ulenberg's *Die Psalmen Davids*, 1582; and the Lutherans with Johann Wüstholtz's *Der lutheranische Lobwasser*, 1617, which is proof that the name of the poet became synonymous with the notion of versified paraphrase of the Psalms. Cf. Kessner 2004; Gutknecht 2004. In the British Isles, after the first renditions of Robert Crowley (*The Psalter of David*, 1549) and Thomas Sternhold (1547-1549), John Knox (1559) and John Day (1562) achieved a complete English version of the Huguenot Psalter. John Hopkins undertakes in 1566 a new version of the complete Metrical Psalter, completing thus the work of Thomas Sternhold



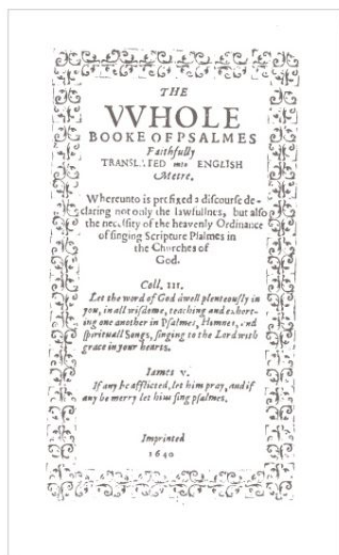
▲ Fig. 3. Ambrosius Lobwasser's *Psalter des Könighchen Propheten David* (1573), title page. Drawing after an online facsimile.

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(having known by 1644 over 470 editions). The Anglican Church also edits, through Archbishop Matthew Parker, *The whole Psalter translated into English metre which containeth an hundred and fifty Psalmes*, 1567. But at that time, the versification of the Psalms had become in the English world a literary fashion, as this is the only explanation to be found for the Latin version of *Psalmi aliquot davidici in metri Latinis traducti* (1599), also seen through by Thomas Sternhold. Cf. Zim 2011. Some versions of the Metrical Psalters can be found in Scandinavian languages as well, overlapping (especially later) with the spaces taken up by the reformed and newly reformed religions. (See North America).

¹⁷ For Viski, see Istoria 1970, vol. 1, p. 437; Gherman 1982.

¹⁸ For Istvánházi, see Gherman 1973.



▲ Fig. 4. *The Bay Psalm Book* (1640), title page. This first English book printed in America (Cambridge, Massachusetts) was inspired by the many editions of the Sternhold-Hopkins Psalter. *The Bay Psalm Book* was nonetheless assembled by 'thirty pious and learned' local ministers. Drawing after an online facsimile.

It must be reminded that they enjoyed ample circulation because of their everyday use in the church. This circulation created, at the end of the 16th century, a genuine literary fashion. The translations of certain paraphrases of the Psalter from vernacular languages into Latin (most of which were made by their authors), such as those of **Thomas Sternhold** and **John Hopkins** (cf. Fig. 4), those of **Clément Marot** and **Theodore Beza** (translated by Beza) or that of **Ambrosius Lobwasser**,¹⁹ can only be assessed from a cultural point of view, and not from that of the dogma. However, there is an impressive number of paraphrased Latin versions of the Psalms, which has no justification from the point of view of the reformed cult, even if they were written or printed in areas where the Reformation was widespread, since they express, first and foremost, a scholarly and even literary experience. Along **Theodore Beza** and **Thomas Sternhold**, many other authors versified the Psalms: **François Bonade**, **Helius Eobanus Hessum**, **Reynerus Snoy Goudanus**, **George Buchanan**, **Benito Arias Montano**, **Iohannes Maior**, **Bartolomeo Botta**, **Maurice of Hesse-Kassel**, **Luis da Cruz**, **Marcantonio Flaminio**, etc.,²⁰ not to mention the overwhelming biblical paraphrases of one or several Psalms. Writing paraphrases in elegiac, heroic, iambic, trochaic and other types of verses thus became a versatile exercise, and the paraphrases could sometimes be converted into works of literary value. A far from quaint appearance is, for example, the variant of **Giovanni Boccaccio**, printed in Košice in 1612, in which the same Psalm has seven different versified paraphrases.²¹

At the end of the 16th-beginning of the 17th century, the writing of a verse paraphrase of the Psalms does not seem to be linked to the confessional character of the early metrical Psalters; it slowly and gradually becomes an artistic expression. In the French Catholic milieu, and especially among the representatives of the *Pléiade*, Psalm versification was widespread, both in the attempt (of confessional origin) to counteract the audience of the Psalms used by the Huguenots, as well as proper literary and artistic work.²² In this regard one should mention the works of important representatives of the *Pléiade* such as **Jean Dorat**, or his student

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19 For Andreas Spethe's translation, see: *Psalmorum Davidis, Prophetarum Regii, Paraphrasis Metrorhythmica*, 1588.

20 François Bonade: *Davidis regii prophetarum oracula...*, Paris, 1531; Helius Eobanus Hessum: *Psalterium univsum carmine elegiaco redditum atque explicatum*, Marburg, 1537 (many other editions); George Buchanan: *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*, Geneva, 1565 (many other editions); Benito Arias Montano: *Davidis aliorumque sacrorum vatum psalmi ex Hebraica veritate in Latinum carmen*, Antwerp, 1573; Iohannes Maior: *In Psalmos Davidis, regis ac prophetarum, paraphrasis, heroicis versibus expressa*, Wittenberg, 1577 (many other editions); Bartolomeo Botta: *Psalmi Davidis latinis versibus redditii*, Venice, 1581; Maurice of Hesse-Kassel: *Davidis Psalterium vario genere carminis latine redditum*, Schmalkalden, 1590;

Luis da Cruz: *Interpretatio poetica Latine in centum quinquaginta Psalmos*, Ingolstadt, 1597; Marcantonio Flaminio: *In Psalmos aliquot breviores paraphrasis dithyrambica cum sacris eiusdem hymnis et versibus sententiosis Eobanidavidicis*, Basel, 1540 (and several other editions). Flaminio also paraphrased Aristotle: *Paraphrasis in duodecim Aristotelis librum de prima philosophia*, Venice, 1536 (and more editions afterwards). See also the editions of Fuchs 2009 (Helius Eobanus Hessum) or Green 2011 (George Buchanan), as well as the various studies of their editors, and e. g. Gaertner 1956; Grant 1959; Pineaux 1971; Zim 1987; Thompson 1988; Núñez Rivera 1993 (and Núñez Rivera 2000); Bottai 2000; Bottai 2001.

21 *Psalmi XIII (Benedic anima mea Dominum etc) [...] Hebdometodica vel VII diversorum carminibus metribus*

Eucharistia poetica, Košice, 1614, in which the text of the Psalm is presented in seven different poetic renditions: *Heroicum, Elegiacum, Saphicum, Phalacrium, Tricolon Tetrastraphon, Monocolon, Dicolon Distrophon*.

22 For the Catholic devotional use of Psalm paraphrases, in relationship with the "oraisons", see Petey-Girard 2006b.

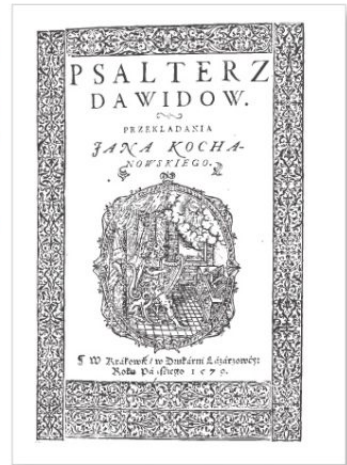
23 Jean Dorat: *Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraica veritate Latinis versibus expressi*, Paris, 1575. Jean-Antoine Baif wrote three versions of the Psalms, two in French and one in Latin, all extant only in manuscript form. During his lifetime only the *Paraphrase sur les sept psaumes pénitentiels*, Paris, 1587, saw a printed edition. His attempt at gaining papal approval for this undertaking is proof enough that the rendering of the Psalms in verse still had powerful religious conno-

Jean-Antoine Baïf, but also by other poets such as Philippe Desportes, Blaise de Vignere, Jean-Baptiste Chassignet, Pierre de Marbeuf, Michel de Marillac, or Honorat de Bueil de Racan.²³ In the 17th century, a great number of poets wrote versified paraphrases of the Psalms, of which François de Malherbe, François Le Métel de Boisrobert, Jean Chapelain, Antoine Godeau, and the great Corneille could not be omitted.²⁴ Between 1600 and 1684, the French had more than 14 fully versified renditions of the Psalms: Jean Metezeau, Jean-Baptiste Chassignet, Jean Le Pigeon, Antoine Godeau, Pierre Bourg, Claude Sanguin, Charles Le Breton, etc.²⁵

The same thing happened, with small differences, in other European literatures (Spanish, Portuguese, German, Polish, etc.). A special situation is to be found in English, where, due to the unique relationship between the Anglican, the Reformed, and the Catholic Churches, the writing of a versified paraphrase of the Psalms was a trademark of the faith and an artistic exercise at the same time. Surprisingly, the 17th century Hungarian literature has less works of this category. One of the main reasons may be the prolonged conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. It prevented a genuine cultural exchange between the Catholics and the Reformed, as events often led to military confrontations, best manifested by the permanent conflict throughout the entire 17th century between the princes of Transylvania (mostly Reformed) and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (Catholic), which disputed their authority over the principality.

But there is also another aspect to be considered: in Eastern Europe the Reformation opposed Catholicism across the Baltic States, Poland, and Hungary, as well as across parts of Ukraine for a short period of time. This led to a competition between writers of different confessions. As such, in Poland for instance, the already famous Metrical Psalter of the Catholic Bishop Jan Kochanowski (Fig. 5) was doubled by other metrical renditions of the Psalms, this time of Reformist origin, written in Latin or Polish.²⁶

As one may easily see, the paraphrases of the Psalms created a precedent and even a literary fashion. This explains the presence of Metrical



▲ Fig. 5. Jan Kochanowski's *Psalterz Dawidów* of 1579, title page. Drawing after an online facsimile.

tation. Philippe Desportes: *Soixante psaumes de David mis en vers françois*, 1591; *Psaumes de David*, 1592; *Cent psaumes de David*, 1598; *Les Cent cinquante psaumes*, 1603. For Philippe Desportes, see the recent edition of Petey-Girard 2006a. Cf. the previous study: Petey-Girard 2005. Blaise de Vigenère: *Le psautier de David tourné en prose mesurée ou vers libres*, 1588. Jean-Baptiste Chassignet: *Les paraphrases sur les cent cinquante Psaumes*, 1612. Pierre de Marbeuf: *Psautier chrétien*, 1612. Michel de Marillac: *Les cl. psaumes de David*, 1625. Honorat de Bueil de Racan: *Sept psaumes*, 1631; as well as the *Odes sacrées (tirées des psaumes de David)* (1651); and *Dernières œuvres et poésies chrétiennes* (1660). For the more pronounced literary aspects of Racan's paraphrase, see the work of Macé 2006.

²⁴ Since we have been discussing

continuity, one should mention that, alongside the 50 Psalms, he also paraphrased the mediaeval text *De imitatione Christi*, attributed to Thomas a Kempis.

²⁵ For more details, see: Jean Metezeau: *Les psaumes de David mis en vers françois, et rapportez verset pour verset selon la vraie traduction latine receue en l'Eglise*, 1610; Jean-Baptiste Chassignet: *Paraphrase sur les cent cinquante psaumes de David*, 1613; Jean Le Pigeon: *Psautier françois*, 1646; Antoine Godeau: *Paraphrase des Psaumes de David*, 1648; Pierre Bourg: *Paraphrase en vers françois sur les cent cinquante Psaumes de David*, 1655; Claude Sanguin: *Heures en vers françois contenant les cl. psaumes de David*, 1660; Charles Le Breton: *Paraphrase des psaumes de David en vers françois*, 1680; etc. See Leblanc 1960. For Malherbe, see

Petey-Girard 2008. In spite of the very small number of Psalm paraphrases written by him, B. Petey-Girard considers him to be the starting point of a new trend in the paraphrases of the Psalms of the first half of the 17th century.

²⁶ *Psalterz Dawidów*, 1579 (several other reprints in the 16th and 17th centuries). In turn, Kochanowski's Metrical Psalter seems to be a Catholic response to that of Reformist Mikolaj Rej (1545), which enjoyed a widespread audience even in the midst of Catholic Poles. Kochanowski's establishment of the Psalter might have come as a result of the direct contact with the poetry of the French *Pléiade* (he studied in France), but also with Buchman's Latin work - as his own writing is often compared to it. For more information, see Sanders 2001.

Notes

27 For Spain, see e. g. Benito Vita: *Harpa de David*, Medina del Campo, 1545. For Italy, see e. g. Francesco Panigrola (Franciscan): *Dichiarazione dei Salmi di David*, Venice, 1586; as well as several Italian verse adaptations published in Switzerland, which may have been influenced by the Reformation.

28 Jacob Meiler: *Proverbiorum Salomonis metaphrasis graeca metrica cui versio latina ad verbum reddita e regione respondet*, Geneva, 1599; Aegidius Synegorus Limborgensis: *Proverbia Salomonis carmine elegiaco*, Wesel, 1548; Iohannes Claius: *Ecclesiastes Salomonis carmine redditus et enarratus*, Geneva, 1588; Jacques-Auguste de Thou: *Ecclesiastes poetica metaphrasis explicata*, Tours, 1590; *Cantica Canticorum versum explanatum*, Paris, 1531; Petrus Nannius, *In Cantica Canticorum paraphrases et scholia*, Louvain, 1554; Theodore Beza: *Cantica Canticorum Solomonis Latinis versibus expressum*, Geneva, 1584; Pierre Du Bellay: *Poetica paraphrasis Cantici Canticorum*, *Psalmis cxxix & c.*, Geneva, 1590; Jacques-Auguste de Thou: *Threni Jeremiae, f. Elciae, poetica metaphrasi explicati*, Tours, 1590.

29 See for this the Elisio Calenzio: *De bello ranarum*, Augsburg, 1512. Cf. the edition of Monti Sabia 2008.

30 Pierre de Changy: *Cantique fait sur la mort des tyrans, composé par le capitaine Changy sur le chant du psaume XLII*, s.l., 1564; Gilbert de Gondouyn: *Cantiques, ou Paraphrases sur aucuns psalmes de David, sur les calamitez veües en France de nostre temps, aucunes au nom de l'Eglise, autres au nom du pays et du peuple*, Paris, 1588; Sieur de La Bourdaiziere, *Méditations sur le 50^e psalme de David en autant de cantiques qu'il y a de versets*, Paris, 1596.

31 For the quotation, see the third volume of Clément Marot: *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1824, p. 194–196.

32 Stegmann 1978.

Psalters in profoundly Catholic countries such as Spain or Italy,²⁷ as well as the verse renditions of other biblical texts that had no direct connection with the Reformed church: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Jeremiah, etc.²⁸ To the same fashion were also subjected famous texts of ancient literature such as the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*.²⁹ This provides ample proof that the work of the translator was not easily distinguishable from the work of the paraphrasing author. Texts changed shape and form when they were transposed in either way from their original. If we are to take this line of thought further, it would be reasonable to consider whether some texts by Corneille, Racine, and Molière, who draw on ancient literature, cannot be considered as part of the same general movement of the literary paraphrase. Such an extension of the discussion compels one to make an essential suggestion in perceiving the literary status of the verse paraphrases: if they are to be analysed in relation to the text from which they draw their subject, this must be done through their formal analysis. Therefore, their appreciation from an artistic point of view must consider them as aesthetically independent works whose value should be judged on its own merits and not in relation to the source text.

Furthermore, the Reformed communities made use of the metrical Psalms to such an extent that this category of songs was gradually adapted to more popular uses. It gained an oral status, and this led in its turn to strange literary experiences in which the Psaltic songs acted as a support of another literary text, especially in mid-17th century.³⁰ This happened because of the dual nature of the metrical Psalms. Clément Marot himself explained this double quality (literary and devotional at the very same time) in his *Epistre aux dames de France*, a text accompanying his *Cinquante Pseaumes* in the anonymous publication by Jean Girard in Geneva (1543):

O vous dames et damoyelles,
Que Dieu feit pour estre son temple,
Et faictes soubz mauvais exemple,
Retentir et chambres et salles,
De chansons mondaines ou salles :
Je veulx icy vous presenter
Dequoy sans offense chanter ;
[...]
O bien heureux qui voeir pourra
Fleurir le temps qui l'on orra
Le laboureur à sa charrue,
Le charretier parmy la rue,
Et l'artisan en sa boutique,
Avecques un psaume ou cantique
En son labeur se soulager!
Heureux qui orra le berger
Et la bergere, au boys estans,
Faire que rochers et estans
Après eulx chantent la haulteur
Du saint nom du leur Créateur!³¹

As a matter of fact, the Psalms largely respond to a Baroque sensibility,³² as they are dominated by the expression of extreme and contradictory feelings: absolute hope in God's saving power and the expression of despair over the trials and tribulations of life, but also rhetorical suggestions inherited from the Hebrew text, and the seeds of the famous motif of *fortuna labilis*. However, this does not mean that the Metrical Psalters can be considered to be a product of this cultural trend. Whether the various

versified Psalms belong to the Baroque itself must be judged on a case-by-case scenario, and should not be examined in their entirety. It is not surprising that, until it reached its apex, the incipient or minor Baroque also took an interest in the text of Psalter, turning its literary paraphrase into a literary exercise of predilection.

In this context of multiple factors (religious, cultural, and literary), the Metrical Psalters became a literary genre characterising multiple periods during the Modern era. It produced an impressive number of writings over the span of more than two centuries. Their literary quality is heterogeneous, ranging from literary texts of great value to a flurry of questionable works. Thus, the tendency of literary histories to record only exceptional works, omitting the large number of works of medium or even lacking in artistic value, made this type of poetry to be seen not as a phenomenon of great magnitude, but only as a series of literary works isolated from one another and, as such, peculiar within each literature. Such is the case of the Romanian literature, where the Metrical Psalters of **Dosoftei** (1673)³³ and **Teodor Corbea** (c.1700-1710)³⁴ have a more pronounced literary character, whilst the ones of **John Viski**, **Stephen Istvánházi** and other Reformed authors were intended for worship use.

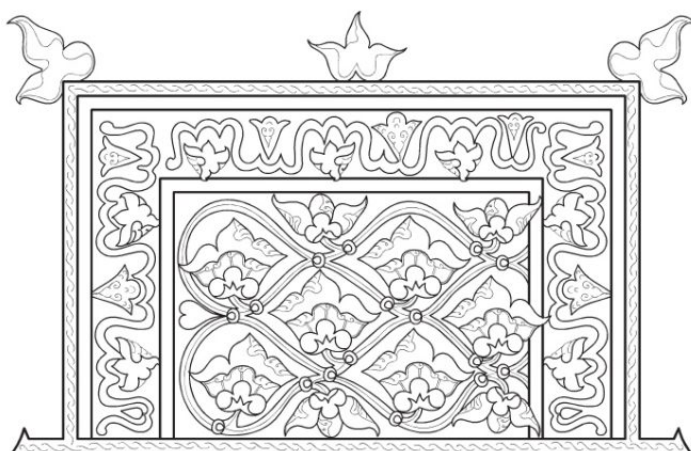
As a conclusion, it can be demonstrated that in the middle of the 17th century the spread of metrical Psalters had its justification in a complex array of factors that have contributed to their success. First of all, the worship-related needs of the Reformation (which had developed a tendency for the need of such since the beginning of the Middle Ages, both in the Western and Eastern churches), must be taken into account. The exercise of the paraphrase, known from the Hellenistic period and from the late Latin literature, also practiced heavily during the Middle Ages in monasteries and in cathedral schools, was again employed during controversies between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, which involved the interpretation of biblical texts both in their spirit and in their text. On the other hand, the Baroque itself encouraged the versified paraphrase of the Psalter, both because of its mannerism and because of the nature of the literary material. The Psalms were conducive to expressing many of the feelings favoured by Baroque literature. Whether or not the different versified paraphrases belong to this current must be judged according to each individual work, according to stylistic criteria that validate the affiliation of that work to this artistic and literary style.

This gave a double justification of the text, matching once again the versification of the Psalms: religious, on the one hand, literary, on the other. Both have competed for the success of this type of text but it has to be carefully analysed from one case to another to what extent these elements individually contributed to its success. It may well be that the reasons behind the different versified renditions of the Psalter into Romanian, in the 17th century, draw on one of these two justifications more than on the other one. **John Viski** and **Stephen Istvánházi** certainly had different reasons when writing their Metrical Psalters than the **Metropolitan Dosoftei**. This is why in modern literature, the explicit versification of the Psalms has a multifaceted justification, furthermore complementary: Psalm verses are at the same time an act of Christian devotion, but also a literary exercise. And this situation is not necessarily restricted to the literature of olden times. A good example of this in Romania is the verse Psalter by **Vasile Militaru** (1933), and a few other 20th century versifications may also be cited in order to support this same idea.

Notes

33 For **Dosoftei**'s Metrical Psalter, see Mazilu 1990; Mazilu 1993; Perian 1994; Curticăpeanu 1998; Buciumeanu 2001; Crețu 2003; Patraș 2003; Sorohan 2003; Balmuş 2013; Moldovan 2017.

34 For **Teodor Corbea**'s Metrical Psalter, see Gherman 1990; Gherman 1993; Gherman 2001; Gherman 2010a; Gherman 2010b.



Psalm 150 in Dosoftei's verse adaptation (1673):

Lăudați-L cu tot omul
 Întru svinții săi pre Domnul,
 Lăudați-L în vârtute
 Ce-are Domnul de oști multe.
 Lăudaț fără tăcere
 De-a Lui sâlă și putere,
 Lăudați-L în mărire
 De-a Lui multă biruire.
 Lăudaț cu glasuri nalte
 De bucine ferecate,
 Lăudați-L în lăute,
 În psăltiri pre viersuri multe.
 Lăudaț pre toate locuri
 Cu tâmpene și cu jocuri,
 Lăudați-L să răsune
 În organe tinse-n strune.
 Lăudaț cu bune viersuri
 De chimvale într-alesuri,
 Lăudaț și-L strigaț tare
 În țimbale de cântare.
 Câte-s vie și tot omul,
 Lăudați-L toț pre Domnul.



Dosoftei also published a prose version of the Psalter, for the translation of which he followed the Greek, Latin and Hebrew versions, as well as one of the first Romanian translations, the one copied in the Hurmuzaki Psalter. This canonical, prose version was published in 1680. It bore the title “The Understandable Psalter” (Psaltiria dențăles) and served a double and immediate purpose: in the vernacular liturgy and as a school textbook.

A.D., V.A.



ДѢЯНИЯ СВЯТЫЯ

ПѢСНЬ.

Слово.

Слово.

КТО СШО · ПЕРВОУ · УЧЛОУ, ДУБИ

НЕНАПИСАНЪ ШЕВРЕН.



ВЪЖЕНЪ МЖЖ
ИЖЕ НЕНДЕН
СВѢТЪ ТНЧЕ-
СПНВЫХЪ
ИНАПЖТГРѢ
ШНЫ НЕСТЯ

ИНАСЪ ДАЛЦЕ ГХВНТЯ НЕ
СѢДЕ.

ИЖ ВЪЗЯКОУ ГНН БОЛА Е-
Ш, ИЖЪ ЛКОУ ГХВ ПОЖИ-



ВЕРНУТЪН БѢ
БАПЪ КАРЛЕ
НАУМЪРЪ С-
ФАПЪЛ НЕКЪ
РАЦНАШЪ, Ш
АКАЛЪ ПЪКЪ
ПЪШНАШ НА-

УСПѢТЪ, ШИ АСКАНЪ ПІЕ
ВЪПЪРНАШ НАУШЕВЪТ.

УЕН АЛЪЦЪ ДОМНАУНЪ БО
ЛАУН, ШИ АЛЪЦЪ АУН СЪ



Dosoftei

Psaltire slavo-română Slavonic-Romanian Psalter

Iassy, 1680

Biblioteca Centrală
Universitară „Lucian Blaga”,
Cluj-Napoca

*Psaltiria dențăles a s[fă]ntului
înpărat pror[o]cu David tipărită
întru bl[ago]s[lo]vite zălele mării
sale prealuminatului întru Is. Hs.
Ioan Duca Voevoda, cu mila lui
D[umne]zău d[o]mnă țărâi Moldo-
vei cu cheltuial[a] mării sale și cu
poslušaniia smerenii noastre Dos-
othei mitropolitulă Suciavei, în
tiparnița s[fi]intei mitropolii în Iași.
Vleat ot sz. mir 7188, m[is]ta. Aprilū
11 dni.*

Cota BRV 71/1

Karataev, 867; BRV, I, 70; Buicliu
2000, p. 185.

Mosora, Hanga 1991, p. 21-22.

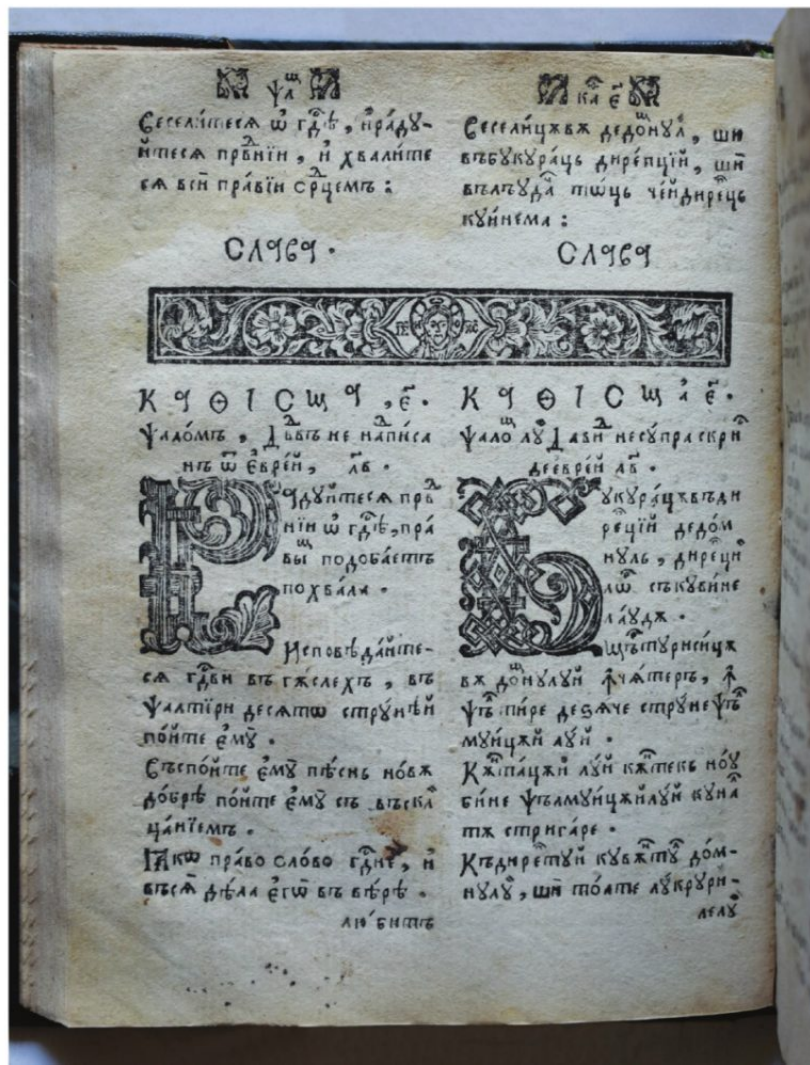
Pp. 1-210; three pages are missing
from the beginning, as well as
p. 211-213 at the end. Foliotation
errors.

In quarto volume (18,5 x 14 cm),
black typeface in Cyrillic script,
two columns of 25 lines in both
Romanian and Old Church Slavonic.
Decoration: some initials and
frontispieces.

The binding of the volume is mod-
ern, marbled paper over cardboard.
The spine and cover corners are
bound in leather, and the spine
shows floral ornaments and the title
of the volume.

Good overall conservation state,
some wear and humidity stains.

Annotations: On the first flyleaf,
a stamp carrying the text *Colecția
Iulian Martian Orașul Năsăud*. P.1:
stamp with the text *Donățiunea
Fraților Liviu și Iulian Martian*.
P.1v: stamp with the text *Biblioteca
Universității Regelui Ferdinand I
din Cluj, România*. P.57: 7198 [?].
P.112: a manuscript note, damaged
at rebinding. P.175^v: a signature.
P.208^v: *Psaltire este a lui [...]* [repeat
of the signature found on p. 175v].





Psaltire Psalter

Iassy, 1743

Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă
a Alba Iuliei

Psalterion a Prorocului și împăratului David, cu rugăciunile la toate cathizmele, cu tălcuiri la fieșce care psalom, cu cântările lui Moisi, cu psalmăi cei aleși, cu pripealile lor, cu puțină istorie a numelor jidoveașci, cu pashalii, de 743, de ani. Împreună stă Evg. și cu Văs. Care cu cucerie s-au închinat prea luminatul și prea înîlțatului domn și oblăduitoriu a toată Țara Moldovii. Ioan Nicolae Mavrocordat Voevod. Purtând cărna pravoslaviei, preasfințitului mitropolit chir Nichifor Peloponisiianul. De Duca Sotirioviici tipografal de la Thasos. Cu a căruia cheltuială acum întâiu într-acestași chip s-au tipărit în Iași în anul de la zidirea Lumii 7251, iară de la mântuire 1743.

Inv. cv 1380.

BRV, II, 234; Buicliu 2000, p. 248-249; BRVAC, 135.

Avram, Bogdan 2015, p. 58.

[3] p. + 182 p.

In folio (26 x 17 cm), black typeface in Cyrillic script, single text block of 32 lines per page. A linear border frames the text. Printed decorations such as initials, frontispieces, vignettes, and engravings.

The volume is bound in paper over cardboard, the spine in leather, with no decorations. The overall state of conservation is poor, with wear, foxing, and brittle paper. The gathering is detached from the spine inlay.

Annotations: On the flyleaf (1^o): Gliga Floarea; Feri Nastasia lui Mihailă anul [...]. Ion Cornea, 1939. Ilie Petra în ziua de 24 iulie [1]938 la prohodul M. S. Regina Mariae în sf. biserică gr. or. în Ibănești. On the last flyleaf: Gliga Floria 1930 VII 29, Avram Petra 26 II [1]939 cantor gr[e-co] cat[olic]. Gliga Traian. Dan Ioan născut la 1900 ian[uarie] 19. Todoran Dumitru. În 28/V/931 subsemnatul am depus jurământul de cantor în fața Dl. Protopop Ioan Maloș, Reghin, semnătura Ioan Cornea. În anul 1961 Înălțarea Domnului s-a serbat la data de 18 mai, timpul noros și foarte rece, iar vara foarte frumoasă și călduroasă, toamna foarte frumoasă și călduroasă; În anul 1962 iunie 7 Înălțarea Domnului frig și ploi reci la munte ninsoare.



**Psaltirea a Prorocului și
Împăratului David**
The Psalter of David the
Prophet and Emperor

Bucharest, 1694

Muzeul Național al Unirii,
Alba Iulia

Psaltirea a Prorocului și Împăratului David, cu m[ol]i[tve] la toate Ca-thizmele. Și cu pashalii de 50 de ani. După orânduiala grecească. Și la să-vârșit exapsalmu. Acum întâi tipărită pre l[i]mba rumânească. Cu po-runca și toata cheltuială a prea lumi-natului și înă[ș]tatului Domn și oblă-duitoriu a toată Țara Rumânească Ioan Costandin B. B. Voevod. Purtând cărna pravoslaviei Prea Sf[i]n[t]it[u]l Mitropoli[t] Chi[r] Theodosie. Tipăritu-s-au în Tipografia domnească. În sfânta Mitropolie în București. În anul dela zidirea lumii 7202. Iară dela mântuire 1694

Cota: CVR 17

BRV, I, 96; BRVAC, 128.

Lupan, Hațegan 1974, p. 381-382;
Mârza, Dreghiciu, 1989, p. 159;
Bogdan 2016, p. 22.

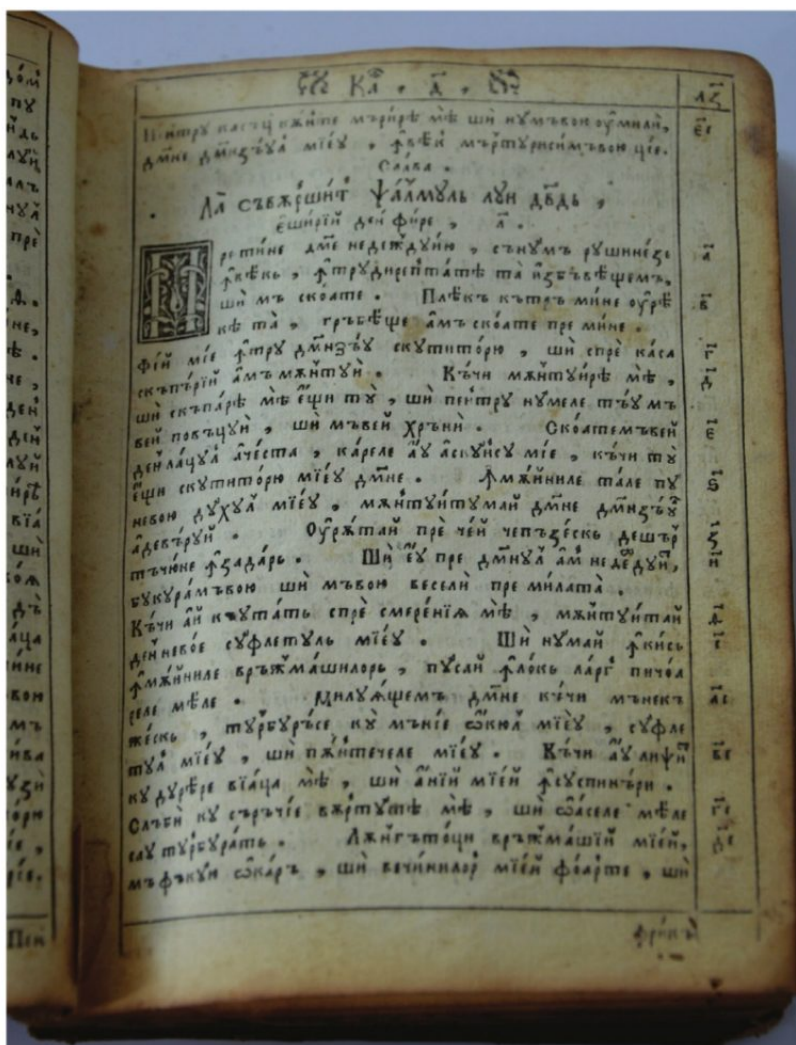
[2] p. + 240 p., lipsesc [2] p. și
p. 241-271.

In quarto (18,5 x 13 cm), black
typeface in a single block of 29 lines
per page, Cyrillic script in a linear
frame. Typographical decorations:
ornate initials, frontispieces and
engravings.

The volume is bound in leather
over cardboard; the front cover
is decorated with a double, linear
with floral elements frame. The
back cover is similarly decorated,
with decorative strips in the centre,
featuring floral and geometrical
patterns.

The overall conservation state is
poor, with wear, flaking of the
leather binding around the corners,
woodworm bore holes and traces
of restoration attempts with paper
strips.

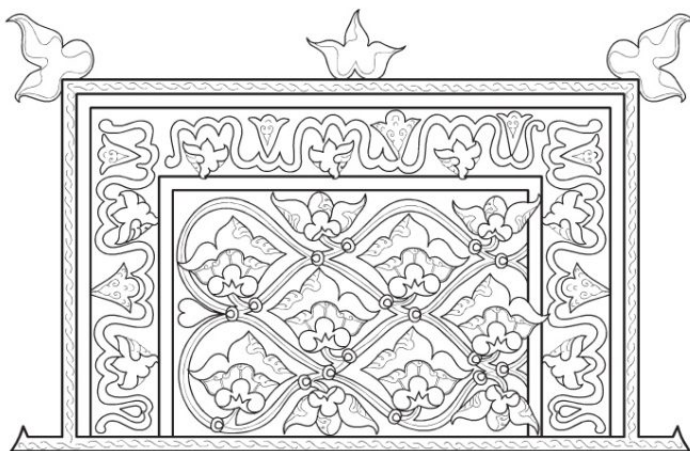
Annotations: On the first paste-
down: *Colectat de la Pop Nichifor,*
cl. I A din Bucerdea Vinasă. Title
page: Suma 155 în an[ul] 1849; p. 9:
Meditat februarie 16 zile 1848; p. 53:
Toaderu Ioan; p. 227: Să citești astă
șorocă. Această carte este a lui popa
Iacob din Bucerdea; p. 239: Pop Iacob
din Boroș Bociard, iunie 9 zile, annu
1844. Second pastedown: Această
sfântă carte este a lui Pop Ioan să fie
afurisit de toți oamenii.





The translation of Psalter into vernacular languages was undoubtedly a very significant step forward in creating the literary languages of our days, and in redefining the individual's connection to his or her Christian faith. Nevertheless, the ancient sacred languages continued to be used. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance, remained faithful to its use of Latin until the 2nd Vatican Council (1965), while Old Greek and Old Church Slavonic are still languages of liturgical use for Orthodox communities today. In the Romanian lands, the process of replacing Old Church Slavonic was long. It had ups and downs. The reluctance of many orthodox priests and hierarchs to use the Romanian translations of the sacred books was due to the fact that most of them had appeared under the auspices of Protestantism. The fear of heresy led to the use of the Slavonic Psalters together with the Romanian ones. These hesitations ended when the Orthodox authorities began to print the liturgical books in Romanian.

A.D.



Psalm 150 in the contemporary Romanian Orthodox Psalter:

Lăudați pe Domnul întru sfinții Lui;
lăudați-L pe El întru tăria puterii Lui.
Lăudați-L pe El întru puterile Lui;
lăudați-L pe El după mulțimea slavei Lui.
Lăudați-L pe El în glas de trâmbiță;
lăudați-L pe El în psaltire și în alăută.
Lăudați-L pe El în timpane și în horă;
lăudați-L pe El în strune și organe.
Lăudați-L pe El în chimvale bine răsunătoare;
lăudați-L pe El în chimvale de strigare.
Toată suflarea să laude pe Domnul!

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- Abaffy 1990** *Czech-kódex: 1513*, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy, intr. Csilla N. Abaffy, Csaba Csapodi, Budapest, 1990.
- Abaffy 1996** *Festetics-kódex: 1494 előtt*, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy, Budapest, 1996.
- Abaffy, Szabó 1995** *Döbrentei-kódex: 1508*, eds. Csilla Abaffy and Csilla T. Szabó, Budapest, 1995.
- Adamska 1999** Anna Adamska, "The Introduction of Writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary and Bohemia)", in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, eds. M. Mostert, intr. Michael Clanchy, Turnhout, 1999.
- Adamska, Mostert 2004** *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska, Marco Mostert, Turnhout, 2004.
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